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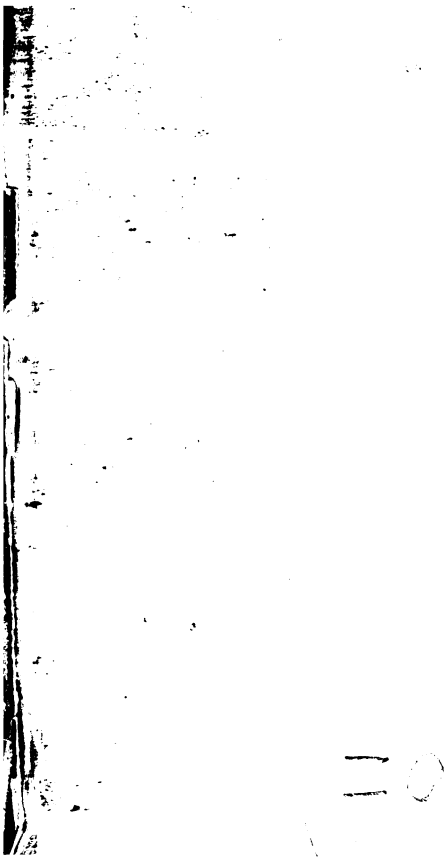


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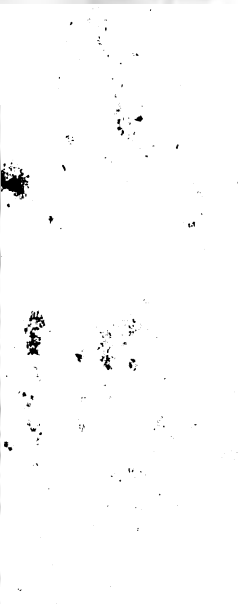
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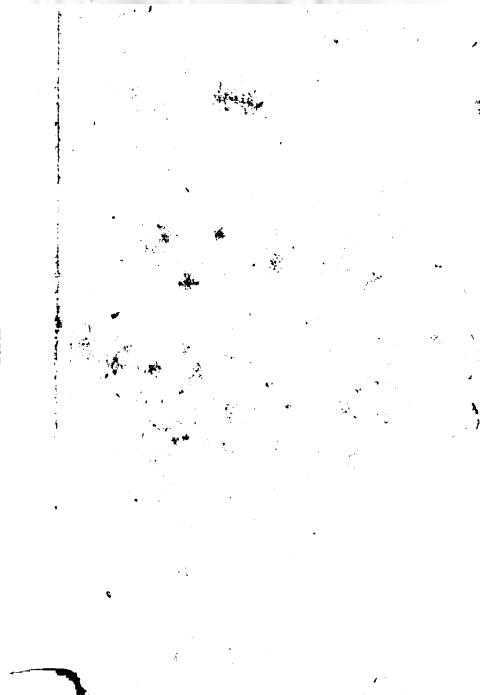














A  
**SHORT HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**PROTESTANT REFORMATION;**  
CHIEFLY SELECTED  
**From Protestant Authors.**  
  
**By the Rev. P. Rafferty.**

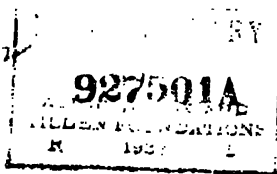
Memor fui dierum antiquorum.

*I remembered the days of old.*

Psalm cxli. 6.



**Pittsburgh:**  
PRINTED BY JOHNSTON & STOCKTON.  
1831.



**WESTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, to**

*Be it remembered*, That on the tenth day of  
in the fifty-fifth year of the Independence of  
ted States of America, A. D. 1831, P. Raff  
said district, hath deposited in this office, th  
book, the right whereof he claims as proprie  
words following, *to wit*:

*"A short History of the Protestant Reformat  
selected from Protestant authors. By the Rev. I  
Memor fui dierum antiquorum. I remembered  
old. Ps. cxlii. 5."*

In conformity to the act of the congress o  
ted States, entitled, "An act for the encoura  
learning, by securing the copies of maps, o  
books, to the authors and proprietors of su  
during the times therein mentioned." And  
act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act  
'An act for the encouragement of learning, b  
the copies of maps, charts and books, to a  
proprietors of such copies, during the tim  
mentioned,' and extending the benefits ther  
arts of designing, engraving and etching hist  
other prints."

**E. J. ROBERT**

*Clerk of the Western District of Penns;*

## PREF.

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events from different authors, rather giving their opinions than my own. · My design was to write only the principal transactions that took place since the beginning of the Protestant Reformation in Europe, and the effect they had upon those nations in which they happened. I was obliged to omit many facts for brevity sake, which, should this little work be found worthy of a second edition, may be added. Many of my friends advised me to publish this work as it is; while others said I ought to make it larger; but I wish it to be sold cheap, and therefore I shall let it try its fortune in the world just as it is; and should it be found of benefit to the public, I shall think myself handsomely rewarded.

## INTRODUCTION.

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### THE STATE OF RELIGION IN CHRISTENDOM, BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

In the year of our Lord 1517, the Greek and Latin churches, though they had been united in the general council of Florence, were then again divided. Muscovy followed the fate of the Greek Church, and the Spanish West Indies were, as they are now, in the communion of the Church of Rome. The Greeks differed from the Latins only in the article relating to the procession of the Holy Ghost, which, however, drew unavoidably after it that of the supremacy. In all other doctrinal points whatever they agreed with the Church of Rome, as they do at present. For proof, I refer the reader to the learned book entitled, "The Church of Christ shewed by the," &c. part I. chap. p. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; where he may likewise be satisfied, that the Nestorians, Armenians, Cophites, Syrians and Ethiopians, also rejected the doctrine of the Reformation in all points wherein it differs from the Roman Catholic Church.

As to the Latin Church, that is, the Church in communion with the See of Rome, at the time when Luther set up for a reformer, she was spread over all the principal kingdoms of Europe: England, Scotland, Ireland, the whole empire, with the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, the large kingdoms of France and Spain, all Italy, with the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, &c. were all united in the same faith, acknowledging the Pope for their common father, the true vicar of Christ, and supreme head of their Church. So that Luther had not any in the wo

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 truth, were it not attested by all writers,  
 mself. For in the preface to his work  
 at he was alone at first, *Primo Solus* e  
 his preface to the book *De abroganda M*  
 ie writes thus: "With how many medic  
 erful evidences of scripture, have I scarce  
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 id to believe him Antichrist; the bishops  
 , and the universities his stewards? How oft  
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ems the poor man had some terrible gripe  
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 at the successor of St. Peter was Antich  
 l the bishops in the world were the devil's a  
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 ews. How troublesome is it to have too  
 conscience! But Kate Boren cured him  
 of all his gripes and qualms.

# **Protestant Reformation.**



## **A GENERAL ACCOUNT**

**OF THE**

## **FIRST REFORMERS,**

**AND THEIR DIFFERENT DOCTRINES.**



MARTIN LUTHER, an Augustinian Friar, a bold rough man, and vehement declaimer, having imbibed erroneous sentiments from the heretical writings of John Huss, of Bohemia, took occasion, from the publication of indulgencies, promulgated by Pope Leo X., to break with the Catholic Church, and to promulgate his new errors, in 1517, at Wittemberg, in Saxony. He first inveighed against the abuse of indulgences; then he called in question their efficacy; and, at last, totally rejected them. He proceeded to broach new opinions, contrary to the Catholic doctrine; as, that remission of sins was not founded on contrition, but on faith alone, contrary to the scripture where it says, "Do you see that by works a man is jus

tified, and not by faith only?" James ii. 24; that good works were not necessary for salvation; and other tenets which will occur in the sequel.

He threw off his religious habit, renounced the solemn vows he had made to God, abandoned his cloister, and returned to the world. He declaimed against the supremacy of the See of Rome, and condemned the whole Church, pretending that Christ had abandoned it, and that it wanted reforming, as well in faith as discipline. Thus, this new evangelist commenced that fatal defection from the ancient faith, which was styled "Reformation," and which afterwards overspread so large a part of western Christendom.

Before we proceed further, let us clearly understand the meaning of these words—Catholic, Protestant and Reformation. Catholic means *universal*; and religion, which takes this epithet, was called universal, because all Christian people, of every nation, acknowledged one and the same head of the Church, and this was the Pope, who, though he generally resided at Rome, was the head of the Church in England, in France, in Spain, and, in short, in every part of the world where the Christian religion was professed. But there came a time, when some nations, or rather, parts of some nations, cast off the authority of the Pope, and, of course, no longer acknowledged him as the head of the Christian Church. These nations, or parts of nations, declared, or protested, against the authority of their former

head, and also against the doctrines of that Church, which, until now, had been the only Christian Church. They, therefore, called themselves Protestors, or Protestants; and this is now the appellation given to all who are not Catholics. As to the word Reformation, it means an alteration *for the better*; and it would be hard indeed if the makers of this great alteration could not have contrived to give it a good name.

Let us now hear the character, which a grave archbishop, and primate of England, has given of the great apostle of the Reformation. "In the beginning of the Reformation, (says Tillot. Serm. 29, p. 558,) when Antichrist sat securely in the quiet possession of his kingdom, Luther arose; a bold and rough man, but a fit wedge to cleave in sunder so hard and knotty a block: and appeared stoutly against the gross errors, and corruptions of the Church of Rome, and for a long time stood alone."

I can assure the reader that Luther will speak for himself, and by his own words we shall judge him. "I now declare," says he, speaking to the bishops, "that for the future I will not vouchsafe you so much honour, as to submit myself or doctrine to your judgment, or that of an angel from heaven." (Preface to his book, *Adversus falso nominatum ordinem Episcoporum*.) He wrote a book which he entitled, "Against the execrable Bull of Antichrist," meaning the Bull of his condemnation by Pope Leo X. This book he concluded these words: "In the same manner that I

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communicate me, I excommunicate them.” In another book, which he published in defence of the articles condemned by the mentioned Bull, “Forbear ye,” says he, “make war against the Turks, until the head of the Pope be taken from beneath the clouds: I have said it.” Numberless other instances of his violence and fury might be added. Such was his spirit of pride, that he made open profession of contempt for the authority of the Church, councils, and fathers; whilst he arrogated an infallibility to himself, and anathematized all, whether Catholics or Protestants, that dissented from him.

The other reformers thought themselves as wise as Luther, and therefore broached new doctrines also, which they propagated and defended with such heat and vehemence, as to occasion every where seditions and insurrections, which they seemed to glory in. “You complain,” says Luther, “that by our gospel the world is become tumultuous; I answer. God be thanked for it, these things I would have so to be; and wo to me if such things were not.”

One principal design of the Reformation was, to free men from two troublesome restraints—of subjecting their understanding to the mysteries of faith, and of being bound down in their actions to the strict laws of morality. The new teachers preached up a hitherto unheard of “*evangelical liberty*,” as they styled *by virtue of which they were masters to their belief and practice, as it suited th*

el I you plainly to your face, that all John Huss's condemned doctrines are evangelical and Christian, but all yours are impious and diabolical."

Here I shall leave Luther for a while, and see what the other reformers are about. John Calvin, a Frenchman, the first contriver and architect of the Presbyterian discipline, is charged with crimes of the blackest hue, both by Lutherans and Catholics; nor are some of our English Protestants, in their writings, much more favorable to him. But setting all aside that is objected to him by his adversaries, his own writings will forever bear testimony that his spirit was not of God, but a proud, boasting, and vain-glorious spirit, like Luther, impatient of contradiction; ever breaking out into reproaches and injurious names, and such like bilingsgate rhetoric against his adversaries; treating with the utmost contempt all modern church guides, and preferring upon all occasions, his own new private lights to the unanimous consent of the ancient fathers, as may be seen in almost every page of his Institutions, &c. To which I must add his monstrous tenets, which could never be dictated by the spirit of God. As 1. "That God has created the greatest part of mankind on purpose to damn them, without any foresight of their sins or prevarications." See Collier's Dictionary, Calvinism. 2. That God is the author of all sin. L. de Prædest. L. 1 Inst. C. 18, num. 1, L. 3, C. 23, n. 8, &c. 3. That man has no free will. L. 2 Inst., &c. 4. That



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## REFORMATION.

and fences they levelled at their pleasure. Tradition they totally abolished; and though they could not reject the whole canon of the scriptures, as being universally acknowledged to be the word of God, they had, however, the presumption to expunge some books of it, that did not coincide with their own opinions; and the rest they assumed a right to explain as they thought fit. Hence followed various arbitrary explications of the most important texts, which became so many fountains that issued out troubled streams of doctrine. But this was a natural consequence. For, if a man consults only himself, his passions and conceits will certainly dictate to him what may serve for his own gratification, and which must, of course, contradict the doctrine of Revelation, which tends to bridle them. What wonder, then, if the comments and glosses of these new interpreters have so much obscured and disfigured the face of religion?

However, to complete the work, and to conciliate people's minds more easily to their innovations, they pretend to charge the old doctrine with absurdities and errors, as if Christ had suffered his Church to be totally lost; whereas, he had told his apostles, and in them his successors, the pastors of his Church: "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world," Matt. xxviii. 20. It plainly appeared that the objected absurdities and errors had no reality, and were more than misrepresentations contrived on purpose. In this view how many notorious

falsehoods were published, which were still kept up, concerning the Catholic worship.

Luther was first intoxicated with the reforming spirit, which presently after insinuated itself in Carlostadius, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Melancthon, Bucer, Muncer, Calvin, Henry VIII. of England, Cranmer, and many others. These Reformers were unconnected, acknowledged no subordination among themselves, and even quarrelled with one another. They all taught different doctrines, and scarce agreed in any thing, but in their endeavours to destroy the ancient faith, and corrupt the Christian principles of morality.

The first man of note that adhered to Luther's Reformation, was Andrew Carlostadius, who was also the first that declared against the mass, and the elevation of the sacrament; the first priest that publicly married. This happened in 1524, on which occasion a new mass was composed and published by him, of which the Introit was: "Dixit Dominus; non est bonum hominem esse solum," &c. and the collect ran as follows: "O Lord, who, after so long a blindness of unmarried priests, hast bestowed such grace upon blessed Andrew Carlostadius, that contemning papal laws, he hath presumed to take a wife; bring to pass that all other priests may follow his example," &c. and he was the first in these latter ages, who renewed the Iconoclasts' war against the images of Christ and his saints; and the first of the *reformers* that denied the real presence of the *body and blood of Christ* in the blessed eucharist.

his man's character is thus given by Melancthon, who knew him perfectly well, and himself a leading man in the new religion. (ist. ad Frederic Mycon. Praefat. ad Lib. timon.) "Carlostadius," says he, "was first author of this tumult; a mere savage, without wit, without learning, without common sense. A man who was so far from having any

of the spirit of God, that he neither knew practised any of the duties of common civility towards men; nay, there appeared in him evident marks of impiety. He condemned all which had been made by pagans; he pressed that all civil causes should be tried by law of Moses, not understanding the force and nature of Christian liberty. He embraced immediately all that fanatical doctrine of the baptists, as soon as Nicholas Stork began to publish it in Germany. He moved the controversy of the Lord's supper, out of pure hatred to Luther, not out of any sentiment of piety.

A good part of Germany can bear witness, that in all this, I say nothing but what is true." So far Melancthon.

The chief of the Reformers, next to Luther.

Ulric Zuinglius, a priest of Zurich, in Switzerland, who was the head of ten of the Protestant preachers in that country, has in his printed works, an authentic testimony to the world of his and their incontinence in their petition to the Helvetican republic, the allowance of wives, tom. 1, fol. 115, fol. 119, and in their epistle to the bishop of Constance, fol. 121, 122, 123, in which he

And that they were not so immoral as to be spoken of by their flock, for any other vice this only excepted, fol. 123.

The chief article in which Zuinglius differed from Luther, was that of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which Zuinglius would have to be a bare figure. But as he was not sharp-sighted enough to find out this figure in Christ's words of himself, until he found, in the writings of one Honius, as we learn from his epistle to Pomeranus, fol. 256, so he was not able to defend it without the help of a nocturnal monitor, of whom he writes, (*L. de subsid. Euch. t. fol. 249, a.*) that he remembered not whether he was black or white. As to his spirit and temper, it was not unlike to that of Luther; his fiery zeal even carried him to Rome, where he was slain, defending his new gospel with sword i

ma, the instrument of the devil, in the institution of idolatry amongst the Romans, (to Hercules, Theseus, &c.) For what signifies our baptism or the other sacraments; what does the scripture or Jesus Christ himself, avail us, if idolaters and Epicureans are saints?" So far Luther.

John Occolampadius was the chief preacher of the Reformation at Basil. He was a Briggittin monk, but exchanged his religious vows for a young wife. He fell in with Zuinglius in his notions of the sacrament, and with him, was accursed by Luther. He was found dead in his bed, not long after Zuinglius's tragical end, and Luther will have it that he was killed by the devil. L. de missa privata, &c. t. 7.

Philip Melancthon, Greek professor at Wittenberg, was Luther's intimate friend and coadjutor. He entered upon the reforming trade at 26 years of age; was as inconstant as Luther in his tenets; and with him subscribed that scandalous license, by which they allowed two wives at once, to their grand patron, the landgrave of Hesse.

Martin Bucer, a black friar, broke through his solemn vows by a sacrilegious marriage: he was the chief transactor in procuring the scandalous license above mentioned, to which he also set his hand. He imposed upon Luther and others by shameful equivocations in the great question concerning the blessed sacrament; and was the first inventor of that contradictory system of a real presence of a thing really absent; and of receiving verily and i

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m a woman, (if I mistake not, a nun,) v  
called his wife. The latter was not  
nt with one wife, but wrote a book in fav  
polygamy; and at length proceeded so f  
deny the blessed Trinity.

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n's coadjutor and successor. Not to s  
his rebellious principles and practices,  
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port diffused themselves with the rapid

Brandenburg, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Holstein, &c. Poland, after tasting of a great variety of doctrines, could pitch upon none, but left to every individual the liberty of choosing for himself. Four cantons of Switzerland received Zuinglius's creed, at the conference held at Bern, in 1528. These cantons afterwards making alliance with Geneva, exchanged their doctrine for that of Calvin. And now, of the thirteen cantons that compose the states of Switzerland, six of them are mostly Protestant.

Muncer, a disciple of Luther, deserted from his master, set up for doctor himself, and with Nicholas Stork, gave birth to the sect of Anabaptists, which was propagated in Suabia and other provinces of Germany, in the Low Countries, &c. Calvin procured his doctrine, or rather new tenets, to be received at Geneva, in 1541. After his death, the same doctrine was carried on by his successor, Beza, and it made its way into several provinces of France, where its professors obtained the appellation of Huguenots. It insinuated itself into some parts of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and became the established religion of Holland. Calvinism was also imported by John Knox into Scotland, (as we shall see hereafter,) where, under the name of Presbyterianism, it took deep root, and overspread the whole face of that kingdom. In fine, to such a degree prevailed the licentious spirit of dogmatizing, that every one thought he had an equal right with Lu-



## PROTESTANT

l, or any other, to interpret the  
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the case with Luther, the great  
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*of religion do these C*

agree, which have cast off the bishop of Rome? Examine all, from top to bottom, and you will scarcely find one thing affirmed by one, which was not immediately condemned by another for wicked doctrine." The same confusion of opinions was described by an English Protestant, the learned Dr. Watton, about the middle of the last century, in his preface to his Polyglott, where he says, "Aristarchus heretofore could scarcely find seven wise men in Greece; but with us, scarcely are to be found so many idiots. For all are doctors, all are divinely learned; there is not so much as the meanest fanatic or jack-pudding, who does not give you his own dreams as the word of God."

But among the reformed nations, none drank more deeply of the cup of error, than England. This country had been, during many centuries, conspicuous in the Christian world for the orthodoxy of its belief, as also for the number of saints it had sent to heaven. But, by a misfortune never to be sufficiently lamented, and by an unfathomable judgment from above, its Church shared a fate which seemed the least to threaten it. The lust and avarice of one despotic sovereign threw down the fair edifice, and tore it off from the rock on which it had hitherto stood. Henry VIII. at first a valiant asserter of the Catholic faith against Luther, giving way to violent passions, which he had not resolution to curb, renounced the supreme jurisdiction which the Pope had always held in the Church; presumed to arrogate to himself that power in his own dominions, and to

ive a deadly blow to religion. He then forced his subjects into the same fatal defection, and thus opened the way to his successors to pour in upon the kingdom the whole spirit of the Reformation. Once introduced, it soon overspread the land. Being, from its nature, limited by no fixed principle, but depending upon the arbitrary determination of every private man, it has since taken a hundred different shapes, in Protestants, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, Arians, Moravians, Hutchesonians, Methodists, and many more.—Such was the swarm that eclipsed the face of religion, which had long shown so bright in that island.

In taking a general view of the infinite variety of new teachers that sprung up at this time, differing among themselves, corrupting the genuine sources of faith and morals, and deluding their fellow-creatures with poisonous novelties, we cannot help observing with how great propriety they had been long before described by St. Jude, in the following manner: "*These are winds without water, which are carried about by winds; trees of the autumn, unfruitful, whose leaves are dead, plucked up by the roots; raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own confusion; wandering stars,*" Ep. v. 12, 13. They are first compared to *clouds without water*, or that promise water, but *are carried about by winds* without giving any; that is, these new teachers promise genuine apostolical doctrine, which they call Reformation, but it is mere delusion. They are termed autumnal trees, un-

*fruitful, twice dead, plucked up by the roots;* that is, they are become barren Christians, bringing forth no fruit, *twice dead*, by the want of faith and morality. Like dead trees plucked up from the earth, they are banished out of the Church, from which they ought to receive their spiritual life and nourishment. They are like the *raging waves of the sea, foaming out their confusion*; they are turbulent, proud, rebellious against their mother, the Church, which they furiously assault with slander, calumny and blasphemy. Lastly, like wandering stars, they wander about in mazes of imaginary knowledge, passing from one error to another, without knowing where to fix their steps. *Having indeed an appearance of piety, but denying the power thereof. Always learning, and never attaining to the knowledge of the truth. Erring, and driving in error,* 2 Tim. iii. 5, 7, 13.

Although Almighty God, in the unsearchable ways of his wisdom, allows the Protestant sects to have a certain degree of power, yet in his goodness he puts a bridle to this power, and prescribes to it determined limits, lest it should overrun too great a part of Christ's Kingdom. *Hitherto shalt thou come, and shalt go no further, and here thou shalt break thy swelling waves,* Job C. xxxviii. 11. The Supreme Ruler of the universe had promised, that his Church should stand as visible as if seated on a mountain, Isai. C. ii. 2, and Dan. C. ii. 35; and that hell itself should not prevail against it. Matt. C. xvi. 18. These assurances are

secure bulwark to it; and though the Sovereign Disposer has permitted the new generated poison of the present age to infect some part of his Church, the greater part is preserved sound and untainted, and shines forth with brighter lustre to the world. Many large countries rejected the Reformation, and steadfastly adhered to the ancient faith, and even in most of those kingdoms which adopted the innovation, there are still remaining, by the Providence of God, many that refuse to bow their knees to Baal, and stand as a testimony against the others, who ought to have maintained the same truth with them.



## SECTION II.

*Civil Wars in Germany, set on foot by the Reformers—  
Huguenots in France—Murder of the Duke of Guise  
and the Cardinal of Lorraine—The Massacre at Paris—  
The Irish Massacre.*

WHILE powerful princes and great armies undertook to propagate the Protestant religion, the Almighty thought fit to interpose, and gave to the Catholic powers sufficient strength to oppose the invasion, and has ever since supported them in such manner as to make them a match against their enemies.

In the first heat of the Reformation, such was the violence of the Protestants, that they breath-

ed nothing less than war and destruction. In their progress they murdered great numbers of the Catholics, demolished their churches and monasteries, and carried devastation through the land. But the Almighty, in his eternal wisdom, had resolved to restrain their power, that they should not proceed beyond the limits which he had fixed. Their expectations were consequently frustrated, and they were obliged to sit down with less extent of conquest than they had grasped in their thoughts. In fine, experience shows, that notwithstanding the Protestant princes have taken such pains to extirpate the Catholic religion in their respective states, they have not been able to compass it. The Catholics have been grievously oppressed, and many even put to death; nevertheless, though much reduced in some of those countries, by the divine protection, they still there subsist, whilst, at the same time, many other countries received the true Catholic faith; and what the Church lost in one nation, she gained in another.

In those countries where the sovereigns embraced the Reformation, they generally seized upon the revenues of the Church, and thus reduced the clergy to the pinching anguishes of want. The bulk of the Catholics were forced to adopt the religion of their princes, or fly their native country, or, in fine, be doomed to lie under the most heavy oppression. Besides, who is ignorant of the cruel persecuting laws that were in those times enacted, in most the Protestant states, against the Catholic

ligion? Among the rest, who is not acquainted with the severe laws of England and Ireland? They are such, as to be owned by those of their own people, who have a sense of humanity, to be barbarous, to be a scandal to the Christian religion, and a disgrace to civilized nations. In consequence of these statutes, how many persons have been stript of their estates? How many individuals have been imprisoned, banished, even put to death? How many families have been reduced to beggary, and ruined? How miserable was the condition of a multitude of religious people, of both sexes, who were ejected from their houses, and robbed of all their possessions? They had abandoned the world, and consecrated themselves to God in solitary retreats. Unacquainted with manual labour, and unaccustomed to every art of providing subsistence, they solely attended to the service of God, and to the preparing of themselves for another world, depending entirely for the support of the present life on the pious benefactions of those persons, who, to promote the divine worship and all the heroic virtues of the Christian religion, had endowed those houses with suitable revenues.

But now a storm, like a hurricane, rose and burst upon them. One would have thought that an army of Goths or Danes had invaded the land. The recluses saw themselves assaulted by brutish ruffians, and forcibly drawn out of their sanctuaries. They saw their churches *violated, and, together with their houses, plundered and pulled down to the ground.*

## REFORMATION.

Thus were those ancient nurseries of piety learning reduced to a heap of ruins; a la monument of the spirit that guided the R mation. Such were the extravagancies o naticism and violence at that period, that a few were scandalized, even of those who voured the change of religion. See Stow Annals, Fuller's and Collier's Church His ries. Sir John Denham, speaking of the c molition of monasteries in England, cries ou

"Who sees these dismal walls but will demand,  
What barbarous invader sack'd the land!  
But when he hears, no Goth, no Turk, did bring  
This desolation, but a Christian king;  
When nothing, but the name of zeal appears  
'Twixt our best actions, and the worst of theirs,  
What does he think our sacrilege would spare.  
Since these the effects of our devotions are!

COOPER'S HILL.

Let us hear another Protestant writer: "Eng- and sat weeping," says Camden, "to see her ealth exhausted, her coin debased, and her obeys demolished, which were the monuments her ancient piety." Introd. to the Annals Queen Elizabeth.

By such inhuman proceedings, a great num- of religious men and women saw themselves pt of every commodity of life. They saw nselves exposed to the inclemency of the ther, to the distresses of want, to the in- of an insolent populace worked up to en- asm; in fine, they found themselves turn- at into a wide world, without knowin- way to direct their steps. Had the- ter been sent, instead of a commiss-



er, and required the lives of all those who refused to sacrifice their conscience to the new religion, they would have esteemed themselves happy in acquiring the crown of martyrdom. But to be exposed to all sorts of temptations, to lasting wretchedness, and to see the Church of God trampled under foot, were more cruel afflictions to them than death. These, however they were condemned to bear, and to be deprived of the blessing of giving up their lives.

Luther declared himself the leader in all matters, as well as in articles of the new discipline, and he levelled his first attacks against the Church. He set out with inveighing against all Church government, he declaimed against the clergy, and especially against the superiority of the Pope, though but a little before he had professed all obedience to him. Having gained for disciple and protector, John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, he kept no further measures, but declared open war against the bishops, and the whole ecclesiastic order.

In his rage he composed a book on the subject, in which he said: "All those who will venture their lives, their estates, their honours and their blood, in so Christian a work, as to root out all bishoprics and bishops, who are the ministers of satan, and to pluck up by the roots all their authority and jurisdiction in the world; these persons are the true children of God, and obey his commandments." *Contra statum Ecclesiae et falso nominatum ordinem Episcoporum.* Again, in his book against Sylvester Prieras: "If," says he, "we despatch thieves

by the gallows, highwaymen by the sword, heretics by fire; why do we not rather attack with all kinds of arms these masters of perdition, these Cardinals, these Popes; and all this sink of the Romish Sodom, which corrupts without ceasing the Church of God, and wash our hands in their blood."

Thus preached the new religionist, nor did he cease till he got the bishops expelled from Saxony and Hesse, and their authority extinguished. Not content with having thrown off contemptuously the spiritual authority of the Pope, the bishops, and of the whole Church. Luther next attempted to subvert the temporal power of princes. The new teachers totally differed from the primitive preachers of the gospel.

These, during their whole ministry, had before their eyes the charge which Christ gave to his apostles. "Behold, I send you," said he, "as sheep in the midst of wolves," Matt. x. 16. Which they all understood as an order to preserve the meekness and gentleness of sheep, whatever wolves or persecutors they might meet with. And this rule they invariably followed. But Luther, though at first he professed an aversion to violence, finding the way of patience did not succeed, soon altered his maxims. "The gospel," he then said, and the rest of the reformers after him said the same thing, "the gospel has always caused disturbances, and blood is requisite for its establishment." *De serv. arb.*

When, therefore, he had done as much

he was able, to abolish the clergy, canon law, and the universities, he then proceeded to attack the emperor, and temporal princes, both by his writings and preaching. "You must know," said he, "that from the beginning of the world to this day, it has ever been a rare thing to find a wise prince; but more rare to find one that was honest: for commonly they are the greatest fools and knaves in the world." *De Saeculari Protest.* Again, "you must know, my good lords," said he, "that God will have it so, that your subjects neither can, nor will, nor ought any longer to endure your tyrannical governments." *Contra Rusticos.*

Nay, even he could not refrain from expressing the same contempt and rebellious disposition towards his own patron and protector, John Frederick, Elector of Saxony; having been slighted, as he thought, by his highness. "If it is lawful for me," said Luther, "for the sake of Christian liberty, not only to neglect, but to trample under my feet the Pope's decrees, the canons of councils, the laws and mandates of the emperor himself, and of all princes; think you, I shall value your orders so much, as to take them for laws?" *Contra Ambr. Catharin.*

These sorts of lessons found easy entrance into the minds of people, who had already drunk plentifully of the spirit of "evangelical liberty." Their dispositions were soured and *worked up* by this inflammatory doctrine of *their ministers*, to such a degree, that they *were ready for any enterprise of sedition and*

rebellion. Erasmus thus describes them: "with fierce looks, and threatening countenances," like men "that just came from hearing bloody invectives, and seditious speeches." Accordingly we find "these evangelical people always ready to rise in arms, and equally as good at fighting as at disputing."

How different is this spirit from that of the first ages of Christianity! The faithful then learned from the apostles and their successors, no other doctrine but the doctrine of patience, humility, meekness, obedience to the sovereign powers; and these lessons they invariably adhered to. They said: "Our hopes are not fixed on the present world, and therefore we make no resistance to the executioner that comes to strike us." S. Justin. Apol. 2, ad Imper. Anton pium. They said: "We adore one only God, but in all other things we cheerfully obey you," the emperors. Ibid. They said again: "We Christians pray to God, that he may grant to the emperors a long life, a peaceable reign, safety at home, victorious arms, a faithful senate, virtuous subjects, universal peace, and every thing that a man and emperor can desire." Tertul. Apol. In fine, the heats occasioned by Luther's seditious doctrine, were so much fomented and increased by his disciples and other new reformers, that they soon kindled into a flame. The peasants in Germany rose up in arms, flocked together, and proceeded in a body, carrying devastation through the provinces of Suabia, Franconia, and Alsatia, and ransacked many of the imperial towns.

The ringleaders of this multitude, chiefly composed of Anabaptists, were Muncer and Phiffer. Muncer pretended he had received from God "the sword of Gideon," in order to depose idolatrous magistrates, and to compel the world to accept the new kingdom of Jesus Christ. These fanatic insurgents, in their progress, plundered and burned churches, monasteries, and castles; killed priests, monks, and noblemen.

The elector of Saxony, and other princes, to put a stop to those disorders and desolation, confederated together, and joining their forces, cut off and dispersed some parties of the rebels, and defeated the chief body of them at Frankhusen, with great slaughter, in 1525. Muncer and Phiffer, the chiefs, being taken, were executed a few days after.

No part of Germany was free from these tumults. The people were universally intoxicated with the notion of reforming religion, and bent upon removing such magistrates as would not conform to their new systems. At Erford they degraded and secured all the officers of the town. At Frankfort, after having pillaged the churches, and banished the clergy, they expelled the old senators, committed the government of the city to twenty-four commoners, and made a new set of laws, composed from the doctrine of Luther.

Their brethren in Cologne, Mentz, and Triers, had also taken up arms for the same purpose, but failed in their attempts. Such *was the extremes of licentiousness the people*

proceeded to at this period, from their new conceived notion of "liberty," that Charles V. found it very difficult to stem the torrent, nor could he effectually compass it till many years after. These transactions may be seen more at large in Sledian, Cochlaeus, and other historians.

The Lutherans of Germany, who received the name of Protestants, from their protesting against a decree made in favour of the Catholic religion in the diet held at Spires, in 1529, drew up in opposition to it, their confession of faith, called the Augsburg Confession, and entered into a league, offensive and defensive, at Smalstald, against the emperor and Catholic princes of Germany. Luther had sounded the trumpet of war, and set all Germany in a flame. The heads of this formidable league were, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Wittemburgh and Lunenburgh, and the prince of Anhalt.

Allured by the boundless liberty and enjoyment of the church possessions, which they acquired by the Reformation, they resolved to secure them by the point of the sword. They therefore assembled troops, and brought into the field an army of seventy thousand men, commanded by the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, and a hundred and twelve pieces of cannon. Some other German princes, besides the above mentioned, either joined them personally, or sent them forces. They likewise received succours from the i

perial towns of Augsburgh, Ulm, Strasburgh and Frankfort. Thus they were prepared to depose the emperor Charles V. and to extirpate from Germany the Catholic faith, which had been the established religion of the empire for many ages past. The eyes of all Europe were intent upon the issue of this war. The emperor, with a much smaller army, marched with resolution against them, engaged them near the Elbe, and gained a complete victory, in 1547.

The two generals, the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, were taken prisoners. Thus was the Catholic religion secured in the empire, and Protestantism, though checked, kept its ground.

A similar scene was acted in Switzerland, where Zuinglius had introduced the Reformation, as we have already related. The reformed cantons, not content with having themselves adopted Zuinglianism, would also force it upon the other cantons that remained Catholic. This occasioned a war to ensue, and a battle was fought, in which the Protestants were defeated, and Zuinglius himself slain, in 1531.

Calvin's Reformation, at Geneva, began by ejecting the prince bishop of the place, and dispossessing him of his sovereignty and temporal dominions. Calvin, who modelled the state of Geneva, declared himself an enemy to monarchical government, and ever commended the advantages of a commonwealth. "They are," said he, "beside their wits, quite void of sense and understanding, who desire to live

under absolute monarchies; for it cannot be but that order and policy must decay where one man holds such an extent of government." Comment. in Dan. ii. 39. By degrees he expressed more openly his aversion to kings, and endeavoured to disgrace their characters by the most scurrilous abuse. "These kings," says he, "are, in a manner, all of them a set of blockheads, and brutish men." Ibid vi. 3. Thus, he trod upon the steps, and imitated the language of his forerunner, Luther. Again; "Princes," says Calvin, "forfeit their power when they oppose God, in opposing the Reformation; and it is better, in such cases, to spit in their faces than to obey." Ibid vi. 32.

What can be the purport of such doctrine, but to inspire a contempt for sovereigns, and to encourage the people to cast off their government, under the cloak of religion? Theodore Beza, Calvin's scholar and successor at Geneva, supported his master's doctrine, and enforced it by his own writings, as may be seen in the preface to his translation of the New Testament; and again, in his book, "Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos," where he says; "We must obey kings, for God's sake, when they obey God; but otherwise, as the vassal loses his fief or tenure, if he commit felony, so does the king lose his right and realm also." Thus speaks our modern Junius Brutus. In this same work may be seen a hundred other assertions of the same nature, the natural tendency of which can be no other, but to arm



subjects against their sovereign, and to introduce anarchy and confusion into the world.

How different is the doctrine of these two modern apostles from that of the ancient great apostles, SS. Peter and Paul! "Be ye subjects," says St. Peter, "to every human creature for God's sake: whether it be to the king, as excelling; or to governors, as sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of the good." 1 Ep. ii. 13. 14. "Let every soul," says St. Paul, "be subject to higher powers; for there is no power, but from God, and those that are ordained of God. Therefore he that resists the power, resists the ordinance of God. And they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation." Ep. ad. Rom. xii. 1, 2.

Geneva, having settled the plan of her principles according to the instructions of Calvin and Beza, became schools of rebellion to the western parts of Europe, and the principal nursery of the civil wars in France. This country soon found its bowels convulsed by the poisonous seeds of the Reformation, that had clandestinely been sown and taken deep root, in Dauphiné, Gascony, Languedoc, and other provinces.

In 1560, the Calvinists, or Huguenots, formed what is called "the conspiracy of Ambrose," which was a scheme to seize the person of Francis II. king of France, and to murder the *duke of Guise*, and his brother the cardinal of *Lorraine*, who had the chief management of affairs in the kingdom, and were attached to the

Catholic religion. They had prepared a body of troops for the purpose, but the plot was discovered and prevented from taking effect. However, a civil war broke out in 1562, in which the prince of Condé was declared chief of the Huguenots. This great general, at the head of a body of them, surprised and took the city of Orleans, while other Protestant corps made themselves masters of Rouen, and several other towns. But the constable Montmorency and the duke of Guise advancing against them, at the head of the Catholics, for Charles IX. who had succeeded Francis II., a battle ensued near the town of Dreux, in which the Huguenots, who gave the attack, were defeated, and their commander, the prince of Condé, taken prisoner.

Though the Protestants had thus miscarried in their rebellion against their sovereign, yet Beza, who for his warmth in the cause had accompanied them, and been present at the battle of Dreux, boasted of that battle, as having served to lay the foundation of the Reformation in France.

Thus he addressed queen Elizabeth, in the preface to his translation of the New Testament: "Upon which day," the day of the battle at Dreux, "two years since, the nobility and gentry of France, under the command of his excellency the prince of Condé, being assisted with your majesty's auxiliary troops, and some others from the princes of Germany, laid the *first foundation* of the true reformed religion in France, with their own blood." He in th

same place commends the rebellious transactions of the Huguenots at Maux, Orleans, &c. and glories in having had a share in them. "Which I speak," says he, "the more freely, because I myself, as it pleased God, was present at most of those deliberations and actions."

The year after the battle of Dreux, the duke of Guise was assassinated by Poltrot, a fanatic Calvinist. Notwithstanding the bad success the Huguenots had met with, they resolved not to rest, till they should compel the king to come into their own terms. They therefore contrived another scheme to seize his person, on his going from Maux to Paris; but the design being discovered and frustrated, the civil war recommenced, and they were vanquished a second time near St. Dennis, in 1567. They were worsted again, at Jarnac, in 1569, and the same year were overthrown in a very bloody engagement at Moncontour.

Many were the insurrections and rebellions of the Calvinists, in France, in the subsequent reigns, which created infinite perplexities to the kings, and produced inexpressible calamities in that kingdom. It is sufficient in this place, to have shown their origin from the principles of the Reformation, and their first progress. And what has been said, is no more than is acknowledged by Protestants themselves, of other sects.

Thus are the Calvinists described by Dr. Heylin, a learned Protestant of the church of England, in his *Cosmography*, book I. "*Rather than their discipline should not be*"

ted, and the episcopal government destroyed in all the churches of Christ, they were resolved to depose kings, ruin kingdoms, and to subvert the fundamental constitutions of all civil states."

When people proceed upon such schemes of violence, can they wonder, that princes, or their officers, in their wrath, sometimes retaliate upon them? Violence necessarily gives provocation, which in its turn exerts itself, though perhaps by unjustifiable methods. When sovereigns perceive their lives to be in danger from conspiracies, when they see their states ransacked, and thrown into confusion by the arms of rebellious subjects, can we be surprised if these sovereigns, without consulting religion, sometimes repel the evil by rough and cruel means? Such was the so much talked of massacre of the Huguenots, at Paris, and other places in France, in 1562, on St. Bartholomew's day, in the reign of Charles IX. However, it is universally condemned by all Catholic authors, that ever wrote of it; and any other crime, committed by any Christian in the world, may as well be charged upon the religion he is of, as that massacre upon the principles of Catholics.

They had already maintained a rebellion of above ten years against their lawful sovereign. They had brought an army of foreigners into the very heart of his country, and delivered up Havre de Grace to the English. They had at last compelled the king to a shameful peace, and obliged him to submit to conditions inconsistent both with his honour and safety.

They were masters of the strongest places in France, Mountauban, Rochelle, &c. So that the king's authority was become wholly precarious, and his crown, was, in a manner, at the mercy of the Huguenots, who, he knew by past experience, would lay hold of the very first pretence to break the treaty, when they should find it to their advantage to do it.

Under these hard circumstances, he resolved upon the destruction of his enemies to prevent his own. For things were come to such an height, that the question was not barely, whether the ancient religion of France or Huguenotism was to be uppermost? but whether Charles the IXth. was to be king or not? Just as at the treaty of Uxbridge, it was not barely the question, whether episcopacy or presbytery was to be the established religion of England: but whether Charles I. was to be a real king or not? Add to this, that the Huguenots themselves had set the example of massacring in cold blood, before they felt the smart of it in their own persons: for the prince of Condé (who had been condemned to lose his head for rebellion, under Francis II.) was no sooner released out of prison, by the death of that prince, of conscience granted to the Huguenots (as Davila tells us) they became that they massacred people in the church of St. Madard, killed many, and committed many other outrages, at Davila will perhaps not be believed, though he be highly esteemed by Protestants for an impartial writer.

Let us then hear the account given of these Huguenots by Dr. Heylin. "A greater dissidence," says he, "was raised against the Huguenots by the unseasonable zeal of the queen of Navarre, who, not content with settling the Protestant religion in the country of Berne, where she was absolute and supreme, suffered the Catholics to be infested in the provinces, which she held immediately of the crown; in-somuch, that at Pamiers (the chief city of the earldom of Foix) the Huguenots, taking offence at a solemn procession held upon Corpus Christi day, 1566, betook themselves presently to arms, and falling upon those whom they found unarmed, not only made a great slaughter among the churchmen, but, in the heat of the same fury, burnt down their houses; which outrage being suffered to pass unpunished, gave great encouragement and example to some furious zealots to commit the same in other places; as, namely, at Mountauban, Calion, Rodez, Perjeaux, Valence, &c." Thus Dr. Heylin, *Hist. Presb. L. 2, p. 70.*

Now all this was six years before the massacre of the Huguenots. And let any man judge whether these persons were innocent, and whether they did not draw on themselves the just vengeance of God, though executed upon them in an illegal manner, by the rage of a provoked and revengeful king? It appears at least, from what has been said, that religion had the least share in the motive of this bloody execution. For the whole business was a cabinet plot, contrived (as Davila tells us, *L. 5,*) by the king

and queen mother. And neither of these were ever famed for zealots in religion, especially the queen; who always acted the part of a complete trimmer between the Catholic and Protestant party; sometimes leaning to the one, sometimes to the other, as they best suited her ambitious desires of ruling.

In a word, as it was not religion, but revenge and state policy, that determined Henry III. to take off the heads of the Guisian party, (for they were most zealous Catholics;) and as the same politic motive has determined many other princes to destroy their domestic enemies, when they could not do it by the regular course of justice; so it was that determined Charles IX. to the destruction of the Huguenots, whom he could neither bring to justice, nor reduce by force of arms. Not that I intend to draw any argument from thence to justify the thing, but only to shew that men, but especially princes, who generally make state interest their gospel, will do strange things for self-preservation, without consulting religion or conscience in the matter, when they are pushed too far, and are in danger of losing all; which was the very case of Charles IX.

The massacre, however, very far exceeded the wishes of the court; and orders were instantly despatched to the great towns in the provinces, to prevent similar scenes; but, though by some Protestant writers the whole number of persons killed, has been made to amount to a hundred thousand, yet the account published in 1582, and made up from accounts

collected from the ministers in the different towns, made the number for all France, amount to only 786 persons!

Dr. Lingard, (Note T. Vol. V.) with his usual fairness, says "if we double this number we shall not be far from the real amount." The Protestant writers began at 100,000; then fell to 70,000; then to 30,000; then to 20,000; then to 15,000; and at last to 10,000! All in round numbers! One of them, in an hour of great indiscretion, ventured upon obtaining returns of names from the ministers themselves; and then out came the 786 persons in the whole!

The massacre also of the Protestants in Ireland, in 1641, has been often objected against the Catholic church. When people are driven to despair by excessive hardship and oppression, and even threatened with utter extirpation, what wonder if an insurrection follows? Such was the case with the Irish Catholics. The insurgents even were not the body of Catholics; they were no more than an exasperated rabble in the province of Ulster, who acted against the inclination of the community, and in opposition to the exhortations of their clergy; and, indeed, all such violences are utterly condemned by the Catholic doctrine. It is also clear from authentic records and testimonies, that this massacre has been exceedingly exaggerated, and that not one hundred part of the number were murdered, that were reported. These particulars are proved at length, by a learned Protestant writer of the kingdom



of Ireland, in a book, entitled: "The trial of the cause of the Roman Catholics.—Dublin, 1761."

The nature of Calvinism being opposite to the Catholic religion, it produced in its proselytes a rancorous aversion to every thing belonging to the latter communion. The consequence of this could be no other, when once they had arms in their hands, but to spread desolation, and exercise cruelties upon those whose religion they hated. And such was the real fact. It is impossible to read the history of the Calvinists, without being shocked at the disorders and barbarities committed by them.



### SECTION III.

*John Knox—Murder of Cardinal Beaton—Duke of Alva's Wars—The Reformers complain of their discipline—Testimony of Erasmus and other writers—Luther's contempt of the ancient Fathers—His scurrility.*

It is computed, that in the course of these wars, they destroyed twenty thousand churches. In the province of Dauphiné only, they killed two hundred and fifty-five priests, and one hundred and twelve monks and friars, and burnt nine hundred towns and villages. If the maxims of Calvinism warranted such proceedings, could its gospel be the gospel of Christ. As Beza had been the chief instrument of pro

pagating Calvinism in France, and a great agent in fomenting the seditions and combustions it occasioned in that country; in like manner Knox, another disciple of Calvin, carried the same doctrine into Scotland, where he planted it by sedition and rebellion, by fire and sword. He, Buchanan, Goodman, and other associates, having consulted together, agreed to reform the church of Scotland, according to the standard of Geneva.

When a sufficient party was formed, they began their work of reformation by murdering cardinal Beaton, in 1549, the principal supporter of the Catholic religion, and was at that time archbishop of St. Andrews. Knox harangued the people, declaimed against the ancient faith and clergy, and inflamed the multitude to that degree of rage, that they immediately ran to the churches, overturned the altars, defaced the pictures, broke to pieces the statues, carried off the ornaments, and then proceeded against the monasteries, which they almost laid level with the ground.

This sort of work Knox carried on in different parts of Scotland; at Perth and Couper. The like following on his preaching at St. Andrews also. The religious houses being pulled down, as well as the images, and laid so flat, that there was nothing left in form of a building. Inflamed by the same fire-brand, they burned down the rich monastery of Scone, and ruined that of Cambuskenneth, demolished all the altars, images, and convents of religious persons in Stirling, Lithgow, Glasgow,

Edinburgh, making themselves masters of the last, and put their own preachers into all the pulpits of that city, not suffering the queen regent to have the use of one church only, for her own devotion. In a little time these fanatics, who were styled Presbyterians, finding themselves growing numerous, rose up, in rebellion against the queen regent, and bringing armies into the field, committed horrible disorders. They were supported by queen Elizabeth of England; and having convoked a general assembly of the party, they concluded, conformably to the opinion of Knox, who declared it lawful, to depose the queen mother from her regency.

After her death, which happened in the year 1569, queen Mary being then in France, they enacted a law, by the instigation of Knox, prohibiting the exercise of the Catholic religion in Scotland. They got this law afterwards confirmed by a Parliament, in 1567, and they excluded the queen from all government. The succeeding calamities which this unfortunate queen and her kingdom sustained from that seditious set of people, who were grown too strong to be controlled, are too well known to need any relation.

It is equally notorious, that the spirit of Presbyterianism, at first confined to the north, insinuated itself by degrees into the neighbouring kingdom of England, where it soon created *divisions among the people, and raised such commotions, as in the end overturned the state, and brought a king to the block.* The

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world has too much experienced that kings, queens, bishops and priests, could never be allowed a share in their friendship.

Lutheranism having insinuated itself into the Netherlands, several states of that country confederated together at Utrecht, in 1578, and agreed to twenty articles, as the foundation of their union, the first of which was, "to support one another against all force that should be exercised upon them, in the king's name, or for religion." This league was confirmed at the Hague, under the auspices of the prince of Orange, in 1581. The scheme was, to renounce all obedience to their liege lord, the king of Spain, and to withdraw themselves entirely from his power, which they did by a public edict. Pursuant to this, they proceeded to break the king's seals, to pull down his arms, to take possession of lands and rents, and to coin money in their own names. With the same usurped authority, they seized the church livings, and abolished the Catholic religion. Such were the steps taken under the standard of Lutheranism, but when the Calvinistical doctrine got footing, the flame spread with the utmost violence.

The people, regardless of all laws by which they were bound to their sovereign, take up arms, and mutiny every where against his magistrates. The churches are plundered, the religious men and women are expelled by force from their monasteries, which are rifled and pulled down. To quell these rebellious insurrections, and to put a stop to these disorders,

Philip, king of Spain, to whom the Low Countries belonged, sent a body of Spanish forces under the command of the duke of Alva. A bloody war ensued, in which the prince of Orange was the chief director of the affairs of the confederates. The duke reduced ten of the revolted provinces to their former obedience and subjection to the king of Spain; but seven others, since styled the "United Provinces," found means to maintain their ground against the Spanish efforts.

In England, Denmark and Sweden, the Reformation was introduced by the kings themselves, who compelled their subjects to receive it. Thus ushered in by the supreme temporal power, it stood in need of fewer insurrections and tumults among the people, to gain admittance; the sword and authority of the prince performed the whole function. Those individuals who dared to continue in the practice of the ancient religion, were declared traitors to their sovereign, and rebels to the state. That the new invented religions were of bad tendency, the effects soon proved. Instead of a reformation, they produced a general licentiousness. This appeared in the seditions, insurrections, and violences committed on all sides. Complaints were also heard from all quarters, of excessive looseness of manners.

The Lutheran magistrates of several imperial cities in Germany, petitioned the emperor, Charles V. to re-establish by his authority, auricular confession, as a check upon the then prevailing libertinism. And indeed it was

highly probable, that from the pretended "Christian liberty" which was then preached, a deluge of vice would have diffused itself, had not the civil power stepped in to stem it. The reformers themselves were so ashamed of the progress of immorality among their proselytes, that they could not help complaining against it.

Thus spoke Luther himself of the fruits of the Reformation. "We see," says he, "that by the devil's malice men are at present more covetous, more cruel, more addicted to vice, more insolent and far worse than they were under the Papacy." *Sermone in Dom. Adv. Edit. Argent. Fol. 5.* Robenstock, in his book entitled *Colloquia D. Lutheri*, tom. 1, p. 37, recites his words as follows: "Men are become so extravagant by the gospel we have preached to them, that they think every thing lawful that flatters their passions, and have lost all fear of hell fire. There is but one peasant in the district of Wittemburg, who endeavours to instruct his family according to the word of God; all the rest go straight to the devil."

Jacobus Andreas, in a sermon upon the 21st chapter of St. Luke, makes the same bitter complaint of the scandalous lives of their converts from Popery: "to make it plain," says he, "to all the world that they are not Papists, and place no confidence in good works, they take care to practice none; instead of fasting, they spend their time in sotting and drinkings; when they ought to relieve the poor, they fleece and oppress them; oaths, blasphemies and im

# PROTESTANT

ions are their usual prayers; so that Je-  
rist is not now so blasphemed amongst  
urks as he is amongst them. In a word,  
d of humility nothing reigns amongst  
but haughtiness, arrogance and pride,  
his sort of life is called evangelical."

ndreas Masculus, in a sermon upon the 4th  
day of Advent, describes the disorders  
ning among those of his party, in the same  
etical manner. "As to us Lutherans,"  
s he, "the matter stands thus; if any one  
a mind to see a set of wicked men, drunk-  
ls, libertines, liars, cheats and usurers, let  
n go to a town where the gospel is preached  
its purity, and he will see as clearly as the  
n may be seen at noon-day, that there is not  
much insolence and wickedness practised  
mong Turks and infidels, as amongst the evan-  
gelical people, where all the reigns of the de-  
il are let loose." Calvin himself comes in a  
vitness of this truth: "Of the few," says he,  
"that have separated themselves from the ty-  
anny of the Pope, the greatest part are rotten  
t heart. They appear outwardly to be full  
f zeal, but if you search them to the bottom,  
ou will find them full of hypocrisy and de-  
eit." In Dan. xi. 34. And amongst Cal-  
in's letters, there is one written to Farel, b  
apiton, a minister of Strasbourg, where b  
ays that God had rendered them sensible ho  
uch they had prejudiced souls, by their pr  
ipitation in throwing off the Pope's authorit  
*"The multitude,"* says he, "has entirely s  
u off the yoke, being trained up to liber

ism; as if in pulling down the Pope's authority, we intended to destroy the word of God, the sacraments, and the whole ministry. They even have the impudence to tell us, I am sufficiently instructed in scriptures, I can read, and stand in no need of your direction."—Others of the German reformers repeated the same reproaches. But have those a right to complain of an inundation, who have themselves cut open the banks of the river?

Dr. Heylin, in his history of the Reformation, complains also of "the great increase of viciousness" in England, in the reforming reign of Edward VI. Erasmus, though no zealous advocate for the Catholics, could not help observing the degeneracy of morals brought on by the change of religion. "Take a view," says he, "of this evangelical people," the Protestants, "perhaps it is my misfortune, but I never yet met with one who does not appear changed for the worse." Epist. ad Vultur. Neu. And again: "Some persons," says he, "whom I knew formerly innocent, harmless, and without deceit, no sooner have I seen joined to that sect," the Protestant, "but they begun to talk of wenches, to play at dice, to leave off prayers, being grown extremely worldly, most impatient, revengeful, vain, like vipers tearing one another. I speak by experience." Ep. ad Fratres infra. Germaniae. "You declaim bitterly against the luxury of priests, the ambition of bishops, the tyranny of the Pope, the frothy stuff of sophists, the devotions of Ca



tholics, their fasts and masses; and you are not content to retrench the abuses that may be in these things, but will needs abolish them entirely; that is, you will pluck up and destroy the good corn together with the tares. But what do you offer us better in exchange, to make us quit our ancient practices? Consider the people who boast themselves of the evangelical profession, and observe whether there be not as much luxury, as much debauchery and avarice amongst them as amongst those they hate? Shew me one, whom your new gospel has changed from a drunkard to a sober man? Or one who having before been either quarrelsome, or revengful, or covetous, or given to detraction or impurity, is become meek, liberal, affable or chaste? You will say there is always a mixture of good and bad in human things, and I ought to consider the good men that are amongst those of the evangelical profession. I must therefore be very unlucky, for hitherto I have not found one, that is not become worse than he was before he embraced the new gospel." Thus Erasmus, who was no violent or prejudiced man. They still retain a good share of that factious and violent temper with which they first propagated their religion, and which, during this period, breaks out on different occasions, to the disturbing of public peace and alarming the sovereigns, as experience sufficiently shows.

With respect to the Church, how many *articles of faith*, which are reckoned essential to religion, have they not exploded, as may be

seen in the council of Trent? The holy sacraments also, those channels of divine grace, have they not reduced to two, or rather one, viz. Baptism; the Eucharist in the opinion of many of their sect, containing nothing more than mere bread and wine? Even Baptism itself is affirmed, by some of them, to be only a ceremony, not necessary for salvation. The rites and ceremonies, which form the exterior part of religion, and which greatly contribute to raise its dignity, and by impressing an awful respect on the minds of the faithful, increase their devotion, the Reformation has almost entirely abolished. In the same manner they have exploded part of the canonical scriptures, church traditions, councils, fathers, the ecclesiastical canons and discipline. They have abrogated the most noble and august sacrifice which Christ has bequeathed to his Church, and thus have reduced the Christian community to a worse condition than either the Mosaic or patriarchal state, by leaving it without any sacrifice at all.

They have also abrogated most of the exercises of mortification, so much recommended by our Saviour, and practised by the apostles and all antiquity; such as fasting, abstinence, continency, penance, self-denial, &c. They have exterminated confession, that great bridle to licentiousness and vice. They have condemned religious vows of poverty, chastity and obedience; that path of Christian perfection, *which has been trodden by thousands, and entitled so many of them to the beatitude of saints*

They have destroyed monasteries, pulled down churches, trampled under foot the images of Jesus Christ, of his holy mother and his saints. They have robbed the faithful of that salutary and comfortable help they had always found in the invocation of the saints, by whose intercession, through the merits of Christ, such plentiful graces and blessings have derived to men. They even dared to profane with sacrilegious hands the sacred remains of the martyrs and confessors of God. In many places they forcibly took the saints' bodies from the repositories where they were kept, burned them, and scattered their ashes abroad.

What can be a more atrocious indignity? Are parricides, or the most atrocious villains, ever worse treated? Thus, among other instances in the year 1562, the Calvinists broke open the shrine of St. Francis of Paula, at Plessis-les-tours, and finding his body uncorrupted fifty-five years after his death, they dragged it about the streets, and burned it in a fire which they had made with the wood of a great crucifix, as Billet and other historians relate.

At Lyons, in the same year, the Calvinists seized upon the shrine of St. Bonaventura, stripped it of all its riches, burned his relics in the market place, and threw his ashes into the river Saone, as is related by the learned Possevinus, who was then in that city. The bodies also of St. Irenaeus, St. Hilary and St. Martin, as Surius asserts, were treated in the same ignominious manner. Such also was the treatment offered to the remains of St. Thomas.

Archbishop of Canterbury, whose rich shrine, according to the words of Stowe in his annals, "was taken to the king's use, and the bones of St. Thomas, by command of lord Cromwell, were burnt to ashes, in September, 1538, of Henry VIII. the thirtieth."

Thus the Reformation waged war against the dead, and against the elect of God; as if sanctity had become infamous, and to have spilt their blood in the cause of Christ, was now to be judged criminal. The universal devastation carried through the Christian Church by the reformed religion, shows clearly that the spirit of darkness was its chief architect.

Luther, the primary head, avowed and proclaimed to the world, that he had had a conference with the devil, about some articles of the religion he was then devising, that he had been convinced by the arguments of that spirit of falsehood, and directed in the determinations he should take.

Thus he opens that famous colloquy: "Some time since," says Luther, "I awaked from my sleep, and behold the devil, who made it his business to occasion me many sorrowful and restless nights, began a dispute with me in my mind. Dost thou not know, that thou hast said private masses almost every day, for fifteen years together? and what, if in those masses thou hast practised downright idolatry," &c. *Lib. de missa privata et sacerdotum unctione.* Luther answers the devil in defending what he had done. The fiend pre

tends to prove his charge, by telling Luther he must have been guilty of idolatry, because he had no true faith at that time, and consequently no ordination. By which it seems that the devil's attempt was to persuade the reformer, that there was neither true faith nor true ordination in the Catholic Church at that time, when he professed himself a member of it and said mass. As if the Church of God had been extinguished, notwithstanding the solemn promise of Christ, that the gates of hell should never prevail against it. The spirit of darkness urges likewise the unlawfulness of saying a mass, in which no one communicates but the priest; as if Christ had given any precept on this head. But without taking the trouble to confute minutely the devil's arguments, I presume every sensible man will allow that Luther, instead of giving any assent to them, should have rejected them with contempt, as so many certain impostures, and charged his antagonist with being the known enemy of truth. He should have rebuked him at once with the words of our Saviour: "Away with thee, Satan," Matt. iv. 10. "Thou wast a murderer from the beginning, and thou stoodest not in the truth; because truth is not in thee: when thou speakest a lie, thou speakest from thy own, for thou art a liar, and the father of lies." John viii. 44. But the reformer, instead of foiling his adversary with these *arms*, gives him up the victory, allows his own *conviction*, and triumphs in the imaginary *discovery*; concluding thus: by these "we are

freed from private masses, and from the ordination of bishops—Let them consider how they can defend their Church.” And from that time he desisted from saying mass.

The same spirit that founded the Church of Luther soon divided it. Luther, indeed, began the farce, and expected that all should at best be but actors under him, and dance to his pipe. But Carlostadius, Zuinglius and Calvin, took themselves to be as able reformers as Luther, and so thought fit to reform his Reformation; nay, they all reformed their own reformations, backward or forward, just as the fancy took them. The Church of England reformed not only her own mother church, but all the reformations that had got the start of her, and a new scene of reformation appeared in Great Britain as often as new reformers mounted the stage. It would be endless to attempt a narrative of all the different parties into which the Reformation has been split. They are not to be enumerated. But one may in general observe, that its case is the same with that of all the heresies in preceding ages. Variation was always their character. Thus it was with the Arians, with the Pelagians, with the Eutychians, &c. They never remained steady to their first plan of religion, nor could they keep their proselytes within the bounds they first prescribed to them. St. Hilary, writing to the emperor Constantius, thus speaks of the Arians: “Your case is the same with that of unskilful architects, who are never pleased with their own work; you do nothing but build

up and pull down—There are now as many models of faith as men, as great variety of doctrine as manners; we have yearly and monthly creeds; we repent of our old creeds, we frame new ones, and those again we condemn." Such was the confusion among the Arians.

The number of different confessions of faith made by the Lutherans and the other reformed churches, demonstrates in like manner the instability of their doctrine. They never could agree among themselves, nor could they ever settle their tenets; as is fully shown and related in the "History of the Variations," by the celebrated bishop of Maux. Not content with what they pretended to have reformed, they would still go on reforming, without knowing where to stop. But indeed what wonder that people are bewildered, when they have no sure guide to direct them! The Church which Christ had commanded every body to hear, they had left, and thus become solitary; they wandered in unknown paths, into which the spirit of seduction led them.

Faith is one, but error easily multiplies, having the devil for its parent, who hates truth and concord. *The lying spirit in the mouth of all its prophets*, 3 Kings, xxii. 22, still continues to actuate the Reformation in the same manner; and hence we see rise up every day new teachers, who, dissatisfied with what they find established, are ever proposing amendments and innovations. What idea can form of a religion or an institution composed

of such a number of dissonant parts, and, chameleon like, varying its colours every day? In fine, the license of judging for himself being the claim of every member of the new religion, what could it produce, but what experience shews to have really happened, a defection from all religion? Some, uneasy under any restraint, declare themselves indifferent to every form of doctrine and worship, and are styled "Latitudinarians;" others, contenting themselves with the simple belief of a God, renounce all divine revelation, and are denominated "Deists," and some are even said to be sunk into mere Materialism, that is, to believe no future state at all.

"They who have made bold with one article of faith," said St. Vincent of Lerins, in the fifth century, "will proceed on to others; and what will be the consequence of this reforming of religion, but only that these refiners will never have done, until they have reformed it quite away?" Common. C. 29. How different is the government and proceeding of the Catholic Church! Founded on the rock, which is Christ, and governed by him according to his promise, she is always uniform and unanimous in her doctrine. Her faith is always the same. She received it from her divine Founder, and she preserves the sacred depositum inviolable. No jarring opinions, no innovations are allowed on that head. When a dogmatical point is to be determined, she speaks *but once*, and her decree is irrevocable.

*The first general council of Nice, declare*



her faith against the Arians; the council of Constantinople against the Macedonians, the council of Ephesus against the Nestorians; that of Chalcedon against the Eutychians; the second of Nice against the Iconoclasts; and so through the whole period of the Christian æra. These solemn determinations have remained unalterable, and will ever be so. Pursuing invariably the same course, she assembled in a general council at Trent, in 1545, where having examined the principal articles of the new reformed doctrine, she pronounced them heretical, and condemned them as such: and this decision will stand an unperishable monument of the true faith against the protestant religion, to the end of the world.

Yet we shall show you the respect Luther had for the ancient fathers and councils.—Sib. de Serv. Arb. T. 2, fol. 480. 2. 'To what purpose should any man rely on the ancient fathers, whose authority was revered for so many ages? For were not they too, all blind? And even neglected Paul's clearest and most obvious words?—Brag now of the authority of the ancients, and depend on what they say: When, as you see, every man of them neglected Paul, the brightest and most intelligent doctor; and were so deeply plunged into the carnal sense, as to keep them in a manner designedly at a distance from this morning star, or rather from this sun.' St. Jerome being imposed upon by Origen, understood not a syllable of Paul. Tom. 5, fol. 348, l. 4. 'These Thomistical asses have nothing to say

duce but a multitude of men, and ancient practice: Nor have they any thing to say, when I quote the scriptures, but are you the only man of sense? The word of God is above all. The divine majesty is for me. So that I care not a rush if a thousand Austins, or a thousand Cyprians stood against me.—Cent. Reg. Aug. Tom. 2, fol. 344, 2. ‘Had Austin in plain terms asserted, that there is a power in the church to make laws, What is Austin! Who shall oblige us to believe him? If then so great an error, and such a sacrilege prevailed against the word of God for so long a time, with the consent, or submission, or approbation of all mankind—let them consider, if there be not good reason, why God would have no creature to be credited. Fol. 345, 1. Neither do I concern myself what Ambrose, Austin, the councils, or practice of ages say. Nor do I want king Henry to be my master in this point. I know their opinions so well, that I have declared against them! Fol. 347, 1. He has here given such a mortal stab both to himself and his reformed churches, that they can never recover of it in the judgment of any thinking man. For it is plainly owned that the reformation was the product of his own brain. The fruit of arrogance and pride; and that not only the whole church then in being, but fathers, councils and practice of ages were against him; which, is in effect giving up the cause. St. Cyprian flourished in the third century, St. Ambrose in the fourth, and St. Jerome and St. Austin, in the fourth and fifth.

But let us hear his railing: Tom. 7, fol. 454, 2. We are furnished with a specimen of scurrilous language not at all becoming an inspired man, or apostolical preacher of the gospel. It is by way of dialogue between Luther and Pope Paul: *Luther.* Gently, my dear little Paul, have a care, my ass, of stumbling. Have a care my Pope ass. Go no further; my dear little ass; lest thou should fall, and break a leg. For there has been this year so little wind abroad, that the ice is very slippery. And if unhappily, as thou art falling, thou shouldest let fly behind, all the world would laugh at thee, and say, what the devil is the matter here? How the Pope ass has befouled himself. *Pope.* Hold thy peace, thou heretic. Whatever falls from our mouth is to be kept. *Luther.* I hear. But what mouth-dost thou mean? Is it that by which thou art wont to send thy——? Those thou mayest keep to thyself. Or dost thou mean that other mouth, with which thou guzzlest thy costly wine? May it still fall into that dog's paunch of thy own. *Pope.* Away thou wicked Luther; dost thou talk thus to the Pope? *Luther.* Away, I say, you wicked desperate rascals, and blockish asses—(speaking to the Pope and Cardinals) why! Can you imagine yourselves to be any better than so many great blockish asses and fools? Truly Pope, ass, a blockish ass thou art, and an ass thou wilt ever be! again, fol. 474. 1.

‘Well! Were I master of the empire, I would order all those profligate rogues, the

Pope and cardinals, and their families, to be fagoted up together and carried to Ostia, three miles from Rome, where there is a puddle, called by the Latins, the Tyrrhen Sea. It is a bath of wonderful virtue against all diseases and infirmities of the Papal sanctity.—In this bath I would gently dip them, and if they staid there but half an hour, I would engage my word, nay, my Lord Christ's too, they should be cured of all their distempers.' Are not these two master pieces of raillery? The touches are so very gentle; as desperate rascals, great blockish, simple asses, profligate rogues, &c. and the turns so very fine, as that of the Pope's mouth before and behind, that the reader cannot but be delighted, as well as edified, with so much good humor, and good manners!! However, as there are different tastes. and some, perhaps, will not relish this way of outlandish raillery, which we call buffoonery; I can assure them, this was not Luther's chief talent; but no man ever outdid him at downright railing. And to be convinced of this truth, let us hear how Popes, Cardinals, and crown heads were treated by him. Tom. 7, fol. 451. 2. "The Pope, and his cardinals, are a company of desperate, profligate rogues and rascals, traitors, liars, and the very sink of the wickedest men living. They are full of the worst of devils, that are to be found in hell: full, full I say, and so full, that they do nothing but spit, —, and blow devils through their nostrils."

Against Henry, king of England, tom. 2, fol.

331, 2. "This doating, illiterate beast of the Papistical body, slavers and prates about my flight." Fol. 331. 1. "It is hard to say whether madness or folly itself be so mad or foolish as Harry's head. He blurs out every thing, not with a royal mind, but with a whorish imprudence. What is this Harry, this upstart Thomist, that I must honour his virulent blasphemy?" Fol. 334. 2. "To be sure, Luther must be frightened, when the king, in his book, spends so much of his Thomistical spittle in lies, and prating."

I speak to a lying scoundrel. If the fool of a king can so forget his royal majesty, why should it not become me to thrust back his lies into his own throat?" Fol. 337. 1. "This trifling impertinent king." Fol. 339. 1. "Why, Harry dost thou not blush? Thou a king? No, a sacrilegious thief." Fol. 340. 1. "This Thomistical tub. This blockhead. Thou liest, thou sacrilegious and foolish king." Fol. 341. "Thus does this raving king splutter." Fol. 341. 1. "This immoveable blockhead, Henry with his hogs, asses, &c." All this is plain English, and needs no comment. But we may safely say, this sort of language never descended from the fiery tongues in the Acts; but comes rather from the tongue St. James speaks of, which is set on fire by hell. Yet to this tongue, the reformation principally owes its birth and being.

*This was the shrill trumpet, which sounded the first charge against the church. It roused the christian world to a letter.*

supposed to have lasted many hundred years, and opened the eyes of thousands, to make them see errors, which otherwise they never would have dreamt of. A wonderful instrument of such a mercy! This, finally, made nuns and friars sally out of their solitary cells, and listen to a more charming summons, than the melancholy sound of their matten-bell.—For their great apostle took care to convince them of the impossibility of living single, by words as well as example.



## SECTION IV.

*Luther declares that God revealed the things he taught—  
His doctrine of free will, and his rules relating to marriage.*

Let us hear Luther's admirable and new doctrine. Tom. 7, fol. 274. "I was the first to whom God vouchsafed to reveal the things which have been preached to you; and certain I am, that you have the pure word of God." Now, if Martin Luther was the first, to whom God vouchsafed to reveal the things which he preached, it follows that the apostles never preached, nor knew his doctrine; which makes me think his works will never pass for canonical scripture, or the revealed word of God, though we have his own word for it. But what follows is a very extraordinary piece, and will certainly very much edify the reader.

"I, Martin Luther, by the grace of God ecclesiastes at Wittemburg, to the Popish bishops grace and peace. This title I now assume with the utmost contempt of you and Satan; that you may not plead ignorance. And should I style myself an evangelist by the grace of God, I could sooner prove my claim to this title, than any of you to that of bishop. For I am certain that Christ himself calls me so, and looks upon me as an ecclesiastes. He is the master of my doctrine. Neither doubt I, but in the great day of accounts he will be my witness, that this doctrine is not mine, but the doctrine of God, of the spirit of the Lord, and of the pure and sincere gospel. So that should you kill me, ye blood suckers, yet you will never extinguish either me or my name, or my doctrine, unless Christ be not living. Since now I am certain that I teach the word of God, it is not fit I should want a title for the recommending of this word, and work of the ministry, to which I am called by God; which I have not received of men, nor by men, but by the gift of God, and the revelation of Jesus Christ—And now I declare beforehand, that for the time to come, I will not honour you so far, as to condescend to submit myself or my doctrine to your judgment, or to that of an angel from heaven;" Tom. 2, fol. 305. 2.—

Here we have a piece of insolence and arrogance never to be paralleled, nay, even to a degree of phrensy and madness.

*We see here a miserable wretch flying in the face of superiors, trampling upon authority*

and even assuming to himself that infallibility, which he would not allow to the church of Christ. But God, who resists the proud, confounded his arrogance, by permitting him to fall not only into the most impious absurdities in point of doctrine, but even scandalous irregularities in practice. For, though it cost him nothing to mimic sometimes the style of a Paul, he could never attain the strength of a Paul to resist the buffets of Satan. His marriage, doubly sacrilegious, by engaging a person consecrated to God in the same crime, betrayed a weakness of so scandalous a nature, as not only gave great offence to his friend Melancthon (1. 4. Epist. 24.) and the sober part of his new reformed church, but will be an everlasting mark of dishonour to the reformation, and a convincing proof that the hand of God had no part in it. For, if the tree may be known by its fruit, and the man by his works, we may justly conclude, that the world, the flesh and the devil, were far more prevalent in this pretended reformer, than the spirit of God. Was it by divine inspiration that he lived at open defiance of all ecclesiastical authority? Was it by divine inspiration that he broke vows, threw off his religious habit, and with it all the religious state, to which he had consecrated himself for life? Finally, was it by the impulse of the Holy Ghost, that he indulged himself in wantonness, when he should have been singing the divine office, as the rule of *his order* required of him? I know not whether *these* be proper marks of an apostolical

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spirit and a man called by Christ to the work of the ministry; but I am sure they are marked of a very fresh date, and wholly unknown to antiquity. For we read, indeed, of the apostles, who were married before their vocation to the apostleship, that they left their wives to follow Christ; and many other apostolical men have done the same after their example. But it is to Luther's Reformation alone we owe those excellent patterns of persons breaking through the most sacred engagements of holy orders and religious vows, to become fathers of children not altogether in a spiritual way and very different from that of the apostle to the Gentiles, who begot the Corinthians, and many other spiritual children in Jesus Christ through the gospel, 1 Cor. iv. 15.

It seems, however, that Martin Luther found it, if not more edifying, at least more comfortable to join the state of matrimony with his apostolical labours, and call Kate Boren to his assistance in the ministry. For I question not but her good example brought in a plentiful harvest of female converts; and as to Luther's practice it was but a natural consequence to his doctrine. For to what end did he preach down celibacy and vows of chastity, if he had intended to keep them? He was not ignorant that the marriage of priests was forbid by the established laws of the Church, and breaking vows by the laws of God. But flesh and blood prevailed, and it was these he had the confidence to boast of. The charms of liberty, and a female companion gave him wonderful

into matters of religion, and made him discover errors unseen before. Without these extraordinary helps to quicken his zeal, and spur him on to undertake the glorious work of the Reformation, he might have continued a private monk, until death; and as utter a stranger to all Popish errors, as when he first made his solemn vows.

Luther has taken care to inform us of the true state of his soul the year before he set up his separate communion. "Out of thy own mouth I judge thee, thou wicked servant," Luke xix. 22. For in the preface to his first tome, p. 6, he tells us how his soul was at that time affected towards God. "I was mighty desirous," says he, "to understand Paul in his epistle to the Romans. But was hitherto deterred, not by any faint-heartedness, but by one single expression in the first chapter, viz. therein is the righteousness of God revealed. For I hated that word, the righteousness of God: because I had been taught to understand it of that formal and active righteousness, by which God is righteous, and punishes sinners, and the unrighteous. Now knowing myself, though I lived a monk of an irreproachable life, to be in the sight of God a sinner, and of a most unquiet conscience, not having any hopes to appease him with my own satisfaction, I did not love, nay, I hated this righteous God, who punishes sinners, and with heavy muttering, if not with silent blasphemy, I was angry with God, and said, as if it were not enough for miserable sinners, who were lost to all eterni

by original sin, to suffer all manner of calamity by the law of the decalogue, unless God by the gospel adds sorrow to sorrow, and even by the gospel, threatens us with his righteousness and anger. Thus did I rage with a fretted and disordered conscience."

Blessed God! What a disposition is here to prepare a man for the ministry of the gospel, the preaching of the pure word of God, and the reformation of Christ's Church? What strange marks are these of an extraordinary call? A man raging with a fretted and disordered conscience; angry with God, murmuring against him, nay, hating and silently blaspheming his justice for punishing sinners! How can we represent the very damned souls in hell in blacker colours? For the very worst we can say of them is, that they hate, curse, and blaspheme God's justice for punishing their past crimes. Because, to hate any of God's attributes, is to hate God himself; and the very thought of hating God carries horror with it. How happy is the Catholic Church in having such an accuser! The infamy of the evidence is her full justification, and a convincing proof that the spirit of God had no part in a work wherein Martin Luther was the principal actor. If a man, who by his own confession hated and blasphemed God, is to be depended upon in the great concern of religion; and that, upon the credit of his having been divinely sent to reform the Church, then let the Church be thought guilty of the errors which he has accused her.

The first reformers notoriously abused the scriptures, wilfully falsifying and corrupting the text, to make it chime with their novelties, obtruding by this means upon the deluded people, in all their translations of the Bible and New Testament, a mortal poison instead of the pure word of God. Luther first attempted this sacrilegious cheat in his German translation, in which those that have diligently examined it have remarked above a thousand places altered and corrupted in the New Testament alone. Amongst other places translating Rom. iii. 28, where the apostle says that a man is justified by faith, to establish his doctrine of justification by faith alone, he boldly adds to the text, by rendering it by faith only. And being asked why he did so, he returned this answer, which could not but be very satisfactory to the papists. (*Epist. ad Amicum de voce sola. See t. 5, Germ. fol. 141 and 144.*) "If your papist will be troublesome about the word only; tell him without more ado, that a papist and an ass is the same thing. I will have it so: it is my command: my will is reason enough. We will not be scholars to these papists, but will be their masters. For we will for once be proud, and glory against this kind of asses." And afterwards. "I desire that you would not trouble yourself with giving any other answer to these silly asses about the word (only.) It is enough for you to say, Luther will have it so, &c." Hence Zuinglius, the other great head of the Reformation, (*T. 2, ad Luth. L. de Sacram. p. 412, 413,*) publicly

charged Luther with corrupting the scripture. "Thou dost corrupt," says he, "the word of God: thou art seen to be a manifest and common corrupter and perverter of the holy scriptures. How much are we now ashamed of thee, who have hitherto esteemed thee."

And yet I do not see that Zuinglius was much more scrupulous in this regard than Luther was; witness amongst other corruptions his boldly changing in his translation these words of Christ, "This is my body," into these, "This signifies my body."

The first English protestant version was made by Tindal and Coverdale, in the days of Henry VIII. with no less than two thousand corruptions in the New Testament alone. The like corruptions, though perhaps not in so great a number, were found in all the editions of the Bible and New Testament under queen Elizabeth, till at length, upon the loud complaints both of Catholics and Protestants, a more correct version was published under king James I. And yet even this, which has been used ever since, is not exempt from many wilful and notorious corruptions. See the true Church of Christ shewed by concurrent testimonies, &c. vol. 1, p. 137.

Luther made no difficulty either in expunging part of the scripture or wresting it to his own notions; yet one cannot help admiring his delicacy and tenderness of conscience when *he speaks of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament. In his Babylonish captivity, t. 2. fol*

to be a thing indifferent; but being attacked on that head by king Henry VIII. out of mere passion and revenge he declared against it. "Heretofore," says he, tom. 2, fol. 342, contra Reg. Angl. "I determined that it was indifferent, whether one held transubstantiation or not. But now, upon sight of the reasons and fine arguments of this asserter of the sacraments, (king Henry,) I decree that it is impious and blasphemous to say that the bread is transubstantiated; and that it is catholic and pious to say with Paul, the bread which we break is the body of Christ. (He means in his way of consubstantiation.) Anathema to him that says otherwise, and changes one iota or tittle." And if you ask whether this variation in doctrine was grounded upon any new discovery; or what new reasons he had to allege against transubstantiation; he offers to allege no other than this, that his adversaries were so hot for that doctrine. See his book ad Waldenses. With regard to the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the blessed sacrament, though he never actually did deny it; yet he owns, that out of the godly motive of terribly incommoding the papacy, he laboured with all his might to get rid of that mystery also, but the scripture texts were so plain, they would not admit of a misconstruction. "If Carolostadius," says he, in his epistle to his friends at Strasburg, t. 5, fol. 502, "or any one else could have convinced me five years ago that there is nothing in the sacrament but bread and wine, he would have wonderfully obliged

me; for I was examining this point with great anxiety, and laboured with all my force to get clear of the difficulty; because, by this means, I knew very well [mark his motive] I should terribly incommode the papacy. But I find myself caught without hopes of escaping, for the text of the gospel is so clear and strong, that it will not easily admit of a misconstruction." He had a good will, it seems, to have misconstrued it, but the text was too clear.

With regard to the elevation of the sacrament, we learn from his lesser confession (apud Hospinian, part 2, p. 188) that he retained it in his church of Wittemburg (though otherwise he had thought to have abolished it) to spite Carlostadius, who had presumed to take it away without consulting him; "Lest," says he, "we should seem to have learnt any thing from the devil."

Carlostadius, who, in his absence, had abolished the mass, pulled down images, &c. without consulting him, he threatened to turn papist again, and retract all that he had done. Witness one of his sermons after his return from his Patmos, t. 7, fol. 275, 2. "If," says he, "you continue to bring about your designs by these common deliberations, [i. e. without his authority,] I will fairly tack about, and recall all that I have written or said, and leave you in the lurch. Take this for a warning. Pray what harm will the popish mass do you?"

To demonstrate still more evidently to what *extravagancies* his passion and spirit of contradiction carried him, hear what he says

Form. Missa. t. 2, fol. 386, "If a council, by its own authority, should order or permit (communion in both kinds) then would we least of all make use of both kinds. Nay, in that case, in contempt of the council and its decree, we would either receive in one kind only, or in none at all, and by no means in both; but would curse all those, that in compliance with such a decree, should receive in both kinds."

And in his works, printed in the High Dutch, t. 2, fol. 214, he adds, "That if a council should grant churchmen liberty to marry, he would think that man more in God's grace, who during his life kept three whores, than he who married pursuant to the council's decree: and that he would command, under pain of damnation, that no man should marry by the permission of such a council, but should live chastely, or if that were impossible, not to despair, though he kept a whore." He reckons the immortality of the soul amongst those doctrines which he calls monsters bred in the dung-hill of Rome, t. 2, fol. 107, 2. "God declares," says he, "that he will have no man live unmarried, but to be multiplied—if any man resolves to continue unmarried, let him put off the name of man and make it appear that he is an angel or spirit: For to man God does not allow it by any means." Epist. ad Wolf. tom. 7, fol. 505, 1. Again Serm. de Matrim. tom. 5, fol. 119, 1, he writes thus: "Increase and multiply is not a precept, but more than a precept, that is to say, a divine work—which is as necessary as to be a man, and more necessary



than to eat, drink, sleep and wake. As it is not in my power not to be a man, so it is not in my choice to be without a woman; and again, as it is not in thy power not to be a woman, so it is not in thy choice to live without a man." Nay, his extravagance still led him further. For though polygamy, that is, the plurality of wives or husbands, be positively condemned in the New Testament, he blushed not to teach the lawfulness of it, as will appear from the following pieces.

"What if one of the married couple," says he, "should refuse to be reconciled to the other, and would absolutely live separate, and the other not being able to contain should be forced to seek another consort, what must he do? May he contract with another? I answer that without doubt he may." In 1 Cor. 7, tom. 5, fol. 32. "Put the case," says he, "that one should fly from the other till there has been a third or fourth marriage, may the husband marry another wife as often as his former leaves him, so as to have ten or more of these deserters still alive? Again, may the wife have ten or more husbands who are all fled? I answer that we can not stop St. Paul's mouth, nor contend with such as think fit to make use of his doctrine as often as need requires. His words are plain that a brother or sister are free from the law of marriage if the other departs, or will not consent to live with *the other.*" Ibid. fol. 112, 2. "It is fit," says *he again*, "the husband should say, if thou wilt not, another will. If the mistress re-

fuses let the maid come. But first he should a second and third time admonish his wife, and before others make known her obstinacy, that she may be publicly reprehended; if after that she refuses, divorce her and advance Esther in the place of Vasthi." Ibid. fol. 123, 1.

Strange doctrine for a man called by God in an extraordinary manner! Nay, does it not manifestly show him to have been a most wicked impostor? His doctrine concerning free will is no less contrary to the word of God: For he utterly denies it. "Free will," says he, "after sin, is no more than an empty name." Tom. 2, fol. 3, 2. And in his treatise *deservo arbitrio*, he writes thus, "man's will is in the nature of a horse. If God sits upon it, it tends and goes as God would have it go—if the devil rides it, it tends and goes as the devil would have it; nor can it choose which of the riders it will run to, or seek; but the riders themselves strive who shall gain or possess it." Tom. 2, fol. 434, 2, and again in the same treatise fol. 460, 2. If God foresaw, says he, that Judas would be a traitor, Judas of necessity became a traitor: Neither was it in the power of Judas or of any other creature to do otherwise, or to change his will.

Having taken a view of the Reformation in general and the effects it produced in Germany, France and other countries, together with the different doctrines preached by the chief Reformers; I shall now pass over into good old England, and show how the Reformation was established and supported in that country.

der Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. I shall also say something of Queen Mary, and Lady Jane Grey. This last reigned as Queen of England, only for the short space of nine days. The first occasion of the changes of religion in England, (called the Reformation) took its source from a disorderly passion entertained by Henry VIII. for a court lady named Anne Bolen. He had lived in wedlock with his virtuous queen Catharine, the daughter of Ferdinand of Arragon, and aunt to Charles V. for the space of about 20 years, without any scruple of conscience concerning the validity of their marriage. Our king (says the Lord Herbert, p. 243.) had now for many years enjoyed the virtuous queen Catharine, without either that scruple of the validity of the match, or that outward note of unkindness. But when she grew old, and was past bearing children, he began to be disturbed with most grievous scruples about it; nor could his tender conscience enjoy any repose, till his superannuated wife was removed from his bed, and the place made clear for his young intended bride to take possession of it.

Dr. Heylin, though a hearty enemy to the Roman Catholic church, has been so sincere as to let the world know, of what nature King Henry's scruples were. King Henry VIII. (says he) being violently hurried with the transport of some private affections, and finding the pope appeared the greatest obstacle to his desires, extinguished his authority in the

of England. This opened the first way to the Reformation and gave encouragement to those who were inclined to it; to which the king afforded no small encouragement for politic ends, Pref. p. 2."

Here we have the true secret of King Henry's scruples, laid open without disguise; and the plain truth of the story is this. He was growing weary of his wife, and had set his heart so violently upon Miss Anne Bolen, that he was resolved to have her, cost what it would: He therefore left no stone unturned to compass his end. Agents were sent abroad to tamper with several foreign universities: and both promises and threats were employed at home to cajole some and frighten others into compliance. But his chief application was to Pope Clement VII. to whom he had been very serviceable in some important occasions, and therefore despaired not of gaining him over to his side; which indeed would have given no small reputation to his cause, if it could have been effected. But though all sorts of engines were set at work, and the most important solicitations employed by the King's agents at Rome to render the Pope pliable to his desires; tho' they laid before him all that could be said, to represent the extreme violence of King Henry's temper, the pretended reasonableness and necessity of a divorce, and the dangerous consequences of a refusal, their negotiations proved unsuccessful: his holiness being convinced, that it was not in his power to dissolve that marriage, which had been authori-

and ratified in the most solemn manner by his predecessor, Julius II.

"Our King, (says Lord Herbert, p. 252) thought fit to send Sir Francis Bryan and Peter Vannes to Rome. Their instructions in general being signed with the King's own hand, were, &c." Here the author gives an account of some instructions relating to the King's affairs with the Emperor, and then proceeds thus: "Furthermore, they were required to discover in the name of a third person, whether if the Queen entered into a religious life, the King might have the Pope's dispensation to marry again, and the children be legitimate; and what precedents there were for it. Secondly, whether if the King for the better inducing the Queen thereunto, would promise to enter himself into a religious life, the Pope might not dispense with his vow, and leave her there." A most godly contrivance! the King was to make a vow to God, which he never intended to keep, and the poor Queen was to be left in the lurch! If this be not a mark of tenderness of conscience, I know not what is. But listen to what follows: "Thirdly, If this may not be done, whether the Pope can dispense with the King to have two wives, and the children of both legitimate: since great reasons and precedents, especially in the Old Testament, appear for it. All which they were first to do with that secrecy and circumspection, that the cause might not be published; propounding therefore the King's case always as another man's. Lastly, As in all other instructions, some menaces were

Here I shall make a few short remarks upon it. First, I observe how strangely industrious and fruitful of invention men are, when they seek to gratify a passion, which has once taken deep root in their hearts. I observe, secondly, that King Henry's seeking partly to trepan the Pope by indirect and sinister means, and partly to frighten him by threats into a compliance with his desires, is a plain indication that he was conscious to himself of the badness of his cause: and I observe, thirdly, that his shameful proposal of being dispensed with to have two wives at once, shews no less plainly, that his conscience would have permitted Queen Catharine to continue his wife, notwithstanding her having been married before to his elder brother, if Mrs. Anne Bolen had been but privileged to share with her in that honour.

All this while (says the same author, p. 258) the common people, who with much anxiety attended the success of this great affair, seemed between pity to Queen Catharine and envy to Anne Bolen, now appearing to be in the King's favour, then to cast out some murmuring and seditious words; which being brought to the King's ears, he thought fit to protest publicly in an assembly of Lords, Judges, &c. called to his palace, that nothing but a desire of giving satisfaction to his conscience, and a care of establishing the succession to the crown in a right and undoubted line, had first induced him to controvert this marriage; being for the rest as happy in the affections and virtues of the Queen as any prince living."

may condemn me for want of being able to answer for myself, as having no counsel but such as you have taken and chosen out of your own counsel, whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose your will and intent. Therefore I humbly pray you to spare me, until I know what course my friends in Spain will advise me to take: And if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled. And with that she arose and departed." Thus Stow.

However, my Lord Herbert affirms, that she appeared once more in person before the court; but it was only to protest against the two cardinals, as incompetent judges; requiring, farther, that this her protestation might be recorded, and so departed presently out of the court, page 263. After which the Queen, being several times cited, and not appearing, was pronounced contumacious; and the court proceeded to the examination of witnesses, whose depositions all centred in this one point, to wit, that the marriage between Prince Arthur and Queen Catharine, had been consummated. The probability whereof, though nothing to the mean purpose, having no other foundation than bare guesses, grounded upon their having been bedded, and some jocular words uttered by Prince Arthur, could not be of sufficient weight to counterbalance the Queen's positive oath to the contrary, and her taking God to witness, that she came a maid to Henry's bed. *For the truth whereof she appealed in open court to the King's own conscience, who as soon as she was retired, instead of der*

spoke thus in the presence of the commissioners:—"I will now in her absence declare this unto you all, that she has been unto me as true and obedient a wife, as I could wish or desire. She has all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of mean condition. She is also surely a woman nobly born. Her condition will well declare it," Stow, p. 543. And now I leave you or any one to judge whether it be probable that a person of this character would publicly forswear herself, and at the same time have the confidence to appeal to the King's own conscience for the truth of what she said. An abandoned creature might do so, but not a princess of untainted honor and virtue. But to proceed, the witnesses against the Queen being thus heard, and their depositions recorded, the Cardinals adjourned the court to the Friday following, which was July 23d, An. 1529, when it was expected they would have proceeded to a definitive sentence; but to the King's great surprise and mortification, they again adjourned it from that day to the first of October; pretending that according to the method of the court of Rome, which Campeius said they were bound to follow, no judiciary causes could be terminated during the general vacation of the harvest and vintage already begun. However that be, it is certain Campeius had private instructions not to pronounce definitively till further orders from the Pope.

*During this long interval the Queen was no*



idle, but found means to acquaint the emperor with all that had passed, entreating him to espouse her cause, as he did in effect. For he immediately dispatched orators to Rome, (as my Lord Herbert styles them) whom the Queen likewise constituted her protectors, giving them a commission and instructions to act in her name. Who therefore being come to Rome, entered a protestation in his name against the two legates in England, intreating the Pope to revoke their commission, and advocate the cause to himself; as likewise to warn the King to desist from his suit, or at least consent to have it judged at Rome. The issue whereof in short was, that the Pope being thus pressed by the Emperor's orators, signed an advocacy of the cause to himself, forbidding further proceedings under great penalties.— This put an end to Campeius's legation, who soon after took his leave of the King and returned back to Rome.



## SECTION VI.

*Archbishop Cranmer's character. His wife in a box. He dissolves the marriage between King Henry and Queen Catharine.*

King Henry finding himself thus disappointed, and that nothing favourable to his inclinations was to be hoped for from the Pope, resolved to take a shorter course, which he knew could not fail. For he had taken care

vide himself with an Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England, named Thomas Cranmer, whose pliability he was sure of; and indeed in all respects was fit for his purpose. The surest way of knowing men is by their actions, according to this saying of our Saviour, you shall know them by their fruits. Laws were made by the king and by his servile and plundering Parliament, making it heresy and condemning to the flames, all who did not expressly conform, by acts as well as by declarations, to the faith and worship, which, as head of the church, he invented and ordained.

Amongst his tenets there were such as neither Catholics nor Protestants could, consistently with their creeds, adopt. He therefore sent both to the stake, and sometimes, in order to add mental pangs to those of the body, he dragged them to the fire on the same hurdle, tied together in pairs, back to back, each pair containing a Catholic and a Protestant. Was this the way that Saint Austin and Saint Patrick propagated their religion! Yet, such is the malignity of Burnet, and of many, many others, called Protestant "divines," that they apologize for, if they do not absolutely applaud this execrable tyrant, at the very moment that they are compelled to confess that he soaked the earth with Protestant blood, and filled the air with the fumes of their roasting flesh.

Throughout the whole of this bloody work, *Cranmer*, who was the primate of the King's ~~religion~~ was consenting to, sanctioning, and abetting in, the murdering of Pr

estants as well as Catholics; though, and I pray you to mark it well, Hume, Tilotson, Burnet, and all his long list of eulogists, say, and make it a matter of merit in him, that all this while, he was himself a sincere Protestant in his heart! And, indeed, we shall, by and by, see him openly avowing those very tenets, for the holding of which he had been instrumental in sending, without regard to age or sex, others to perish in the flames.

The progress of this man in the paths of infamy, needed incontestable proof to reconcile the human mind to a belief in it. Before he became a priest he had married: after he became a priest, and had taken the oath of celibacy, he, being then in Germany, and having become a Protestant, married another wife, while the first was still alive. Being the primate of Henry's church, which still forbade the clergy to have wives, and which held them to their oath of celibacy, he had his wife brought to England in a chest, with holes bored in it to give her air. As the cargo was destined for Canterbury, it was landed at Gravesend, where the sailors, not apprised of the contents of the chest, set it up on one end, and the wrong end downwards, and had nearly broken the neck of the poor frow! Here was a pretty scene! A German frow, with a litter of half German half English young ones, kept in hugger-mugger, on that spot, which had been the cradle of christianity; that spot, where St. Austin had inhabited, and where Thomas A. Becket had sealed with his blood, his opposi-

tyrant, who aimed at the destruction of the church and at the pillage of the people! Here is quite enough to fill us with disgust, but, when we reflect, that this same primate, while he had under his roof his frow and her litter, was engaged in assisting to send protestants to the flames, because they dissented from a system that forbade the clergy to have wives, we swell with indignation, not against Cranmer, for, though there are so many of his atrocious deeds yet to come, he has exhausted our store; not against Hume, for he professed no regard for any religion at all; but, against those who are called "divines," and who are the eulogists of Cranmer; against Burnet, who says, that Cranmer "did all with a good conscience;" and against Dr. Sturges, or, rather, the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, who clubbed their 'talents' in gathering up the 'reflections on Popery,' who talk of the "respectable Cranmer," and who have the audacity to put him, in point of integrity, upon a level with Sir Thomas Moore! As Dr. Milner, in his answer to Sturges, observes, they resemble each other in that the name of both was Thomas; but, in all other things, the dissimilarity was as great as that which the most vivid imagination can ascribe to the dissimilarity between hell and heaven.

The infamy of Cranmer in assisting in sending people to the flames for entertaining opinions, which he afterwards confessed that he himself entertained at the time that he was ~~sending~~ sending them, can be surpassed by nothing

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*Archbishop Crammer  
 dissolves the convent  
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posed to derision, and was burning and ripping up the bowels of people by scores, only because they remained firm in that faith of which he had still the odious effrontery to call himself the Defender?

All justice, every thing like law, every moral thought, must have been banished before such monstrous enormity could have been suffered to exist. They were all banished from the seat of power. An iron despotism had, as we shall see, come to supply the place of the papal supremacy. Civil liberty was wholly gone: no one could look upon his life safe for twenty four hours. Cranmer distinguished himself from all his predecessors in the See of Canterbury, amongst whom (counting from St. Augustine downwards) we find so great a number in the catalogue of Saints, that I believe there is not a diocese in Christendom can shew the like, except we go back to the very primitive ages. So that if archbishop Cranmer appears to have been the very reverse of these, both in faith and practice, I fear his character will give no great edification; and the credit of the English reformation will unavoidably suffer by having had such a reformer at the head of it.

Bishop Burnet, his greatest admirer and profest encomiast, tells us of him in his history of the English Reformation 1. part. p. 92, that he was a Lutheran in his heart, even when he was but a private fellow in the university of Cambridge; and it is a noted fact, that he appeared in all outward practices a staunch Roman Catholic; and by consequence dissembled

his religion from that time forward till the end of King Henry's reign.

The King was no sooner cold in his grave, but Cranmer threw off the mask; and the Duke of Somerset, (who was a rank Calvinist; and had likewise dissembled his religion as long as Henry lived) being made lord protector in the minority of Edward VI. he immediately became the Duke's ecclesiastical instrument in pushing on those astonishing changes in the religion of his forefathers, which happened in that reign; so that of all the bishops, archbishops that ever were in Great Britain from the conversion of King Ethelbert down to the reign of Edward VI. Cranmer was the first that openly renounced the religion which that great servant of God and preacher of the Gospel, St. Augustin, had planted in this island; and therefore, if apostatizing from the ancient faith, and broaching new doctrines, be the distinguishing character of a heretic, archbishop Cranmer has the justest claim to that title: Since it is an uncontested truth, that the religion he fell from was that which every Christian upon earth, excepting some remains of heretics condemned by the four first general councils, did profess when it was brought into England by St. Augustin, and his followers; and that when Cranmer abandoned it, it had not only been publicly professed and taught by the whole episcopal order and body of the *clergy in Great Britain*, but had likewise been supported by the whole legislative power of *the English nation*, without any public char

during the space of nine hundred years and upwards, notwithstanding those frequent revolutions in the state, occasioned by the invasions of the Danes, the conquest of the Normans, the wars of the Barons, and those between the houses of Lancaster and York, which divided the nation in every thing but religion, wherein all parties, interests and factions continued to the very last. This then is the first noble exploit, whereby archbishop Cranmer distinguished himself from all the archbishops that had gone before him for nine hundred years together.

It is very strange, indeed; that for the space of nine hundred years there should not be a bishop or archbishop in the whole English nation, either learned enough to see, or zealous enough to oppose these gross errors (if they were really such) which Cranmer undertook to reform; yet it either was so, or Cranmer's reformation was an imposition: But it appears much more consonant to reason to judge, that this reforming archbishop was an impostor, than that all were either dunces or prevaricators.

Cranmer was the first archbishop of Canterbury, who in order to obtain his bulls, took the oath of obedience to the pope, with a premeditated design not to keep it; that is, with a full resolution to separate himself from the pope's communion; strip him of his spiritual supremacy in England, and bestow it on the king, as he did in effect soon after his consecration. *Not if it was not downright perjury, I know*



not what deserves that name: though bishop Burnet, who could not conceal the fact, labours hard to gloss it over by saying, that before he took the oath, he made a solemn protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to by his duty to God, the King or his country; and he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these, 1 part. L. 2. p. 129.—The true meaning whereof is, that he made a solemn protestation to God, that though he was going to take an oath of obedience to the pope, his conscience would not permit him to keep it; and that therefore his real intention (as his actions shewed) was to renounce all obedience to him. And can any man doubt after this but that archbishop Cranmer had a very different sort of conscience from all his predecessors, who not only took that oath from the time it began to be tendered, but thought themselves bound to keep it. Though indeed I do not find in any history, but that they complied with their duty to God, the king, and their country, as fully as if they had forsworn themselves like Cranmer.

I only add, that by the help of such a protestation, whether verbal or mental (if allowed of) the force of any oath may be eluded; because the party to whom it is tendered, needs but keep this reserve in his mind, that he will bind himself no further by it, than his conscience will permit. And if that will excuse a man from the guilt of perjury, all oaths of allegiance or abjuration, or of any other

though worded in the strongest terms, may be broke through like cobwebs; and we must agree with Hudibras, that,

Oaths are but words, and words but wind,  
Too feeble implements to bind.

Cranmer was the first archbishop of Canterbury that shewed his dexterity in tying first, and then untying the matrimonial knot; and this he performed twice with great success, in compliance with his royal master. To explain myself, King Henry was privately married to Anne Bolen, in the presence of archbishop Cranmer, (as the Lord Herbert relates, p. 369) some months before the sentence of the king's divorce from Queen Catharine was pronounced by him. For this was not done, till she appeared big with child. Mr. Collier adds, p. 76, that after Cranmer had pronounced the sentence of divorce, he held another court at Lambeth, where he confirmed the king's marriage with the new queen Anne, all which, notwithstanding as soon as this unfortunate person was convicted of dishonesty, and sentenced to lose her head, the king resolved farther to be divorced from her; that is, to have his marriage with her declared void: which also was performed by archbishop Cranmer, says the same Lord Herbert, p. 448.

Sunk, however, as the country was by the members of the Parliament hoping to share, as they finally did, in the plunder of the church and the poor; selfish and servile as was the conduct of the courtiers, the king's counsellors and the people's representatives: still the

were some men to raise their voices against the illegality and cruelty of the divorce of Catharine, as well as against that great preparatory measure of plunder, the taking of the spiritual supremacy from the Pope, and giving it to the king.

The Bishops, all but one, which one we shall presently see dying on the scaffold rather than abandon his integrity, were terrified into acquiescence, or, at least, into silence. But there were many of the parochial clergy, and a large part of the monks and friars, who were not thus acquiescent, or silent. These by their sermons, and by their conversations, made the truth pretty generally known to the people at large; and though they did not succeed in preventing the calamities which they saw approaching, they rescued the character of their country from the infamy of silent submission.

Of all the duties of the historian, the most sacred is that of recording the conduct of those who have stood forward to defend helpless innocence against the attacks of powerful guilt. This duty calls me to make particular mention of the conduct of the two friars, Peyto and Elstow. The former, preaching before the king at Greenwich, just previous to his marriage with Anne, and taking for his text the passage in the first book of Kings, where Micaiah prophesies against Ahab, who was surrounded with flatterers and lying prophets, said, "I am that Micaiah whom you will hate because I must tell you truth" that this

is unlawful; and I know that I shall eat the bread of affliction, and drink the water of sorrow; yet because our Lord had put it into my mouth, I must speak it. Your flatterers are the four hundred prophets, who, in the spirit of lying seek to deceive you. But take heed, lest you, being seduced, find Ahab's punishment, which was to have his blood licked up by dogs. It is one of the greatest myseries in princes to be daily abused by flatterers."—The king took this reproof in silence; but, the next sunday, a Dr. Curwin preached in the same place before the king, and having called Peyto dog, slanderer, base, beggarly friar, rebel and traitor, and having said that he had fled for shame; Elstow, who was present, and who was a fellow friar of Peyto, called out aloud to Curwin, and said: "Good sir, you know that Father Peyto is now gone to a provincial council at Canterbury, and not fled for you; for to-morrow he will return. In the meanwhile I am here as another Micaiah, and will lay down my life to prove all those things true, which he hath taught out of the Holy Scripture; and to this combat I challenge thee before God and all equal judges; even unto thee Curwin, I say, which art one of the four hundred false prophets, into whom the spirit of lying is entered, and seekest by adultery to establish a succession, betraying the King into endless perdition." Stow, who relates this in *his Chronicle*, says, that Elstow "waxed hot in so much that they could not make him cease *his speech*, until the king himself bade

hold his peace." The two friars were brought the next day before the king's council, who rebuked them, and told them, that they deserved to be put into a sack, and thrown into the Thames. Whereupon Elstow said, smiling, "threaten these things to rich and dainty persons, who are clothed in purple, fare deliciously, and have their chiefest hope in the world; for we esteem them not, but are joyful, that for the discharge of our duty we are driven hence; and, with thanks to God, we know the way to heaven to be as ready by water as by land." It is impossible to speak with sufficient admiration of the conduct of those men. Ten thousand victories by land or sea would not bespeak so much heroism in the winners of those victories as was shown by those friars. If the bishops, or only a fourth part of them, had shown equal courage, the tyrant would have stopped in that career which was now on the eve of producing so many errors. The stand against him by these two poor friars was the only instance of bold open resistance, until he had actually got into his murders and robberies; and seeing that there never were yet found even a protestant pen, except the vile pen of Burnet, to offer so much as an apology for the deeds of this tyrant, one would think that the heroic virtue of Peyto and Elstow, ought to be sufficient to make us hesitate before we talk of "monkish ignorance and superstition." *Recollect that there was no wild fanaticism in the conduct of those men; that they could not be actuated by any selfish motive; that they*

stood forward in the cause of morality, and in defence of a person whom they had never personally known, and that, too, with the certainty of incurring the most severe punishments if not death itself? A detail of these butcheries could only disgust the weary reader. A few instances however, must not be omitted, namely, the slaughtering of the relations, and particularly the mother of Cardinal Pope.

The cardinal, who had, when very young and before the king's first divorce had been agitated, been a great favourite with the king; and had pursued his studies and travels on the continent at the king's expense, disapproved of the divorce, and of all the acts that followed it and, though called home by the king he refused to obey. He was a man of great learning, talent and virtue, and his opinions had great weight in England. His mother, the Countess of Salisbury, was descended from the Plantagenets and was the last living descendant of that long race of English kings. So that the Cardinal, who had by the Pope been raised to that dignity, on account of his great learning and eminent virtues, was, thus, a relation of the king, as his mother was of course, and she was, too, the nearest of all his relations.— But, the cardinal was opposed to the king's proceedings; and that was enough to excite and put in motion the deadly vengeance of the latter.

*Many were the arts that he made use of, and great in amount was the treasure of his people that he expended, in order to bring*

cardinal's person within his grasp; and these having failed, he resolved to wreak his ruthless vengeance on his kindred and his aged mother. She was charged by the base Thomas Cromwell (of whom we shall soon see enough) with having persuaded her tenants not to read the new translations of the bible, and also with having received bulls from Rome, which, the accuser said, were found at Courdray house, her seat in Sussex. Cromwell also showed a banner which had been used by certain rebels in the north, and which he said he found in her house. All this was, however, so very barefaced, that it was impossible to think of a trial. The judges were then asked, whether the Parliament could not attain her; that is to say, condemn her without giving her a hearing? The judges said, that it was a dangerous matter that they could not, in their courts, act in this manner, and that they thought the parliament never would. But, being asked, whether, if the parliament were to do it, it would remain good in law, they answer in the affirmative. That was enough. A bill was brought in and thus was the Countess, together with the Marchioness of Exeter and two gentlemen, relations of the Cardinal, condemned to death. The two latter were executed, the Marchioness was pardoned, and the Countess shut up in prison as a sort of hostage for the conduct of her son. In a few months, however, an insurrection having broken out on account of his tyrannical acts, the king chose to suspect, that the rebels had been instigated by Cardin

Felt, and, forth he dragged his mother to the scaffold. She, who was upwards of seventy years of age, though worn down in body by her imprisonment, maintained to the last a true sense of her character and noble descent.—When bidden to lay her head upon the block: “No,” answered she, “my head shall never bow to tyranny; it never committed treason; and, if you will have it, you must get it as you can.” The executioner struck at her neck with his axe, and as she ran about the scaffold, with her gray locks hanging down her shoulders and breast, he pursued, giving her repeated chops, till at last he brought her down!

Is it a scene in Turkey or in Tripoli that we are contemplating? No; but in England, where Magna Charta had been so lately in force, where nothing could have been done contrary to law, but where all ecclesiastical as well as lay, being placed in the hands of one man, bloody butcheries like this, which would have roused even a Turkish populace to resistance, could be perpetrated without the smallest danger to the perpetrator. Hume, in his remarks upon the state of the people in this reign, pretends, that the people never hated the king, and “that he seems even, in some degree, to have possessed to the last, their love and affection,” he adds, that it may be said with truth, that the “English in that age, were so thoroughly subdued, that like eastern slaves, they were inclined to admire even those acts of tyranny, which were exercised ~~for~~ <sup>over</sup> themselves and at their own expense



This lying historian every where endeavours to gloss over the deeds of those who destroyed the Catholic church both in England and in Scotland. Too cunning, however, to applaud the bloody Henry himself, he would have us believe, that after all, there was something amiable in him; and this belief he would have us found on the fact of his having been to the last seemingly beloved by his people.

And here let me state, that in Dr. Bayley's life of Bishop Fisher, it is positively asserted, that Anne Bolen was the king's daughter, and that Lady Bolen, her mother, said to the king, when he was about to marry Anne, "Sir, for the reverence of God, take heed what you do in marrying my daughter, for, if you record your own conscience well, she is your own daughter as well as mine." To which the king replied, 'Whose daughter soever she is, she shall be my wife.' "I conceive (says Dr. Lingard, in his history of England, vol. vi. chap. iii.) that the extraordinary distinction shown to Anne Bolen while a child, gave rise to the tale that she was in reality Henry's own daughter, by Lady Bolen. It was published by Sanders, in 1585, on the authority of Rastal; and an attempt to refute it was made in the *Anti-Sanderus*, printed at Cambridge, in 1593.

Burnet, in his history of the Reformation, transcribed the arguments in the *Anti-Sanderus*; and *Le Grand*, in his *Defence de Sanders*, without maintaining the truth of the hypothesis, undertook to repel the observations of Burnet. Probably the best refutation of

tale, as cardinal Quirini has observed, (Poli. Hp. tom. 1, p. 137,) is to be found in the silence of Pole, who would certainly have mentioned it if he had known it at the time.

Archbishop Cranmer gave the finishing stroke to the divorce, by definitive sentence in the month of May, An. 1533; queen Catharine being then at Ampthil, in Bedfordshire, whither the king sent some of his council to lay before her the reasons of his second marriage, and exhorts her to submit to it. But she persisting to protest against it, the archbishop cited her to appear at Dunstable, six miles off, where he appointed a court to be held; to which the queen being cited for fifteen days together and not appearing, he first pronounced her contumacious, and then proceeded to give sentence, whereby (according to the style of it) he pronounced, decreed and declared, that the marriage between K. Henry and the princess Catharine, had been void, and null, and invalid, from the very beginning; and that it was unlawful for them to live any more together as husband and wife. That therefore he separated and divorced them, and in consequence pronounced, decreed and declared them to be separated and divorced. Which sentence he ordered to be publicly read in our Lady's chapel, in the priory of Dunstable. And then sent to the king to know his farther pleasure; who, thereupon, gave a strict charge that Catharine should be no more called queen, but princess dowager, and widow of prince Arthur. Cranmer held

another court at Lambeth, at which he declared that the king had been lawfully married to Anne Bolen; and that he now confirmed the marriage by his pastoral and judicial authority, which he derived from the successors of the apostles.

We shall see him, by and by, exercising the same authority to declare this new marriage null and void from the beginning, and see him assist in bastardizing the fruit of it; but we must now follow Mrs. Anne Bolen, (whom the Protestant writers strain hard to whitewash,) till we have seen the end of her. She was delivered of a daughter, (who was afterwards queen Elizabeth,) at the end of eight months from the date of her marriage. This did not please the king, who wanted a son, and who was quite monster-enough to be displeased with her on that account. The couple jogged on apparently without quarrelling for about three years, a pretty long time, if we duly consider the many obstacles which vice opposes to peace and happiness. The husband, however, had plenty of occupation; for, being now "Head of the Church," he had a deal to manage; he had, poor man, to labour hard at making a new religion, new articles of faith, new rules of discipline, and he had new things of all sorts to prepare. Besides which, he had, as we shall see, some of the best men in his kingdom, and that ever lived in any kingdom or country, to behead, hang, rip, and cut into quarters. He had, moreover, *we shall see*, begun the grand work of confes-

eration, plunder and devastation. So that he could not have a great deal of time for family squabbles.

If, however, he had no time to jar with Anne, he had no time to look after her, which is a thing to be thought of when a man marries a woman half his own age; and that this "great female reformer," as some of the Protestant writers call her, wanted a little of husband-like vigilance, we are now going to see. The freedom, or rather the looseness, of her manners, so very different from those of that virtuous queen, whom the English court and nation had had before them as example. Anne excited the mirth and set agoing the chat of persons of another description.

In January, 1536, queen Catharine died. She had been banished from the court. She had seen her marriage annulled by Cranmer, and her daughter and only surviving child bastardized by the act of parliament; and the husband, who had had five children by her, that "reformation" husband had had the barbarity to keep her separated from, and never to suffer her, after her banishment, to set her eyes on that child! She died, as she had lived, beloved and revered by every good man and woman in the kingdom, and was buried, amidst the sobbings and tears of a vast assemblage of the people, in the abbey church of Peterborough. The king, whose iron heart ~~was~~ <sup>perhaps</sup> to have been softened, for a moment, by a most affectionate letter, which she dictated from her death-bed, ordered the p

sons about him to wear mourning on the day of her burial. But, our famous "great female reformer" not only did not wear mourning, but dressed herself out in the gayest and gaudiest attire; expressed her unbounded joy; and said that she was now in reality a queen! Alas, for our great "female reformer!" in just three months and sixteen days from this of her exultation, she died herself; not, however, as the real queen had died, in her bed, deeply lamented by all the good, and without a soul on earth to impute to her a single fault; but, on a scaffold, under a death warrant signed by her husband, and charged with treason, adultery and incest!

In the month of May, 1536, she was, along with the king, among the spectators at a tilting-match, at Greenwich, when, being incautious, she gave to one of the combatants, who was also one of her paramours, a sign of her attachment, which seems only to have confirmed the king in suspicions which he before entertained. He instantly quitted the place, returned to Westminster, ordered her to be confined at Greenwich that night, and to be brought, by water, to Westminster the next day. But, she was met, by his order, on the river, and conveyed to the tower, and as it were to remind her of the injustice which she had so mainly assisted in committing against the late virtuous queen, as it were to say to her, "see, after all, God is just," she was imprisoned in the very room in which she had slept the night before her coronation! From the

her imprisonment her behaviour indicated any thing but conscious innocence.

She was charged with adultery committed with four gentlemen of the king's household, and with incest with her brother, Lord Rochford; and she was, of course, charged with treason, those being acts of treason by law. They were found guilty and all put to death.

But, before Anne was executed, our friend, Thomas Cranmer, had another tough job to perform. The king, who never did any thing by halves, ordered, "as head of the church," the archbishop to hold his "spiritual court," and divorce him from Anne! He pronounced the marriage with Anne "to be lawful, and had confirmed it by his authority, judicial and pastoral, which he derived from the successors of the apostles." How was he now to annul the marriage? How was he to declare it unlawful? He cited the king and queen to appear in his "court!" (oh! that court!) his citation stated, that their marriage had been unlawful, that they were living in adultery, and that for the "salvation of their souls," they should come and show cause why they should not be separated. They were just going to be separated most effectually; for this was on the 17th of May, and Anne, who had been condemned to death on the 15th, was to be, and was, executed on the 19th! They both obeyed the citation, and appeared before him by their proctors; and, after having heard these, Cranmer, who, observe, afterwards drew up the Common Prayer, wound up

blasphemous farce by pronouncing, "in the name of Christ, and for the honour of God," that the marriage "was, and always had been null and void!" Good God! But we must not give way to exclamations, or they will interrupt us at every step. Thus was the daughter, Elizabeth, bastardized by the decision of the very man who had not only pronounced her mother's marriage lawful, but who had been the contriver of that marriage! And yet Burnet has the impudence to say, that Cranmer "appears to have done every thing with a good conscience!" Yes, with such another conscience as Burnet did the deeds by which he got into the bishoprick of Salisbury.

On the 19th, Anne was beheaded in the tower, put into an elm coffin, and buried there. At the place of execution she did not pretend that she was innocent; and there appears to me to be very little doubt of her having done some at least of the things imputed to her: but if her marriage with the king had "always been null and void!" that is to say, if she had never been married to him, how could she, by her commerce with other men, have been guilty of treason? On the 15th, she is condemned as the wife of the king, on the 17th, she is pronounced never to have been his wife, and, on the 19th, she is executed for having been his unlawful wife! However, as to the effect which this event has upon the character of the *"REFORMATION,"* it signifies not a straw whether she was guilty or innocent of the crimes now laid to her charge; for, if she were innoc-

how are we to describe the monsters who brought her to the block? How are we to describe that "Head of the Church" and that archbishop, who had now management of the religious affairs of England?

It is said, that the evening before her execution, she begged the lady of the lieutenant of the tower to go to the princess Mary, and to beg her to pardon her for the many wrongs she had done her. There were others to whom she had done wrongs. She had been the cause, and the guilty cause, of breaking the heart of the rightful queen; she had caused the blood of Moore and of Fisher to be shed; and she had been the promoter of Cranmer, and his aider and abettor in all those crafty and pernicious councils, by acting upon which an obstinate and hard-hearted king had plunged the kingdom into confusion and blood.

The king, in order to show his total disregard for her, and, as it were, to repay her for her conduct on the day of the funeral of Catharine, dressed himself in white on the day of her execution; and, the very next day, was married to Jane Seymour, at Marevell Hall, in Hampshire. She, in 1537, being his third queen, bore him a male child, afterwards Edward VI. and in less than a fortnight expired. After that again the king was solemnly married to the lady Anne of Cleves, with the express approbation of the same archbishop Cranmer, sitting in council, who solved all scruples and difficulties relating to that match, says lord Herbert, p. 516; all which, notwithstanding



ing, this complaisant archbishop, perceiving that the king (who had taken a liking to the lady Catharine Howard, p. 518) hated his wife, made no difficulty to join with others in the dissolution of this marriage. The king with very little ceremony, sent her to the block, together with a whole posse of her relations, lovers and cronies.

He was the first archbishop of Canterbury that gave up the ecclesiastical authority to secular hands, betrayed the ancient faith and immunities of the church, and sacrificed her patrimony to the lust and avarice of his prince; as is attested by all historians both Protestants and Catholics. He distinguished himself but a few days before his death, no less than he had done in the course of his life; for whilst he was under sentence of condemnation, he perjured himself twice in hopes of the queen's pardon; which fact is related and very finely daubed over by bishop Burnet, p. 334, 335, who compares his weakness and fall with St. Peter's denial of Christ, and brings off his hero with flying colours. These were the most distinguishing actions of the famous Thomas Cranmer, the first Protestant archbishop in Great Britain; to which high station king Henry, who had taken the true size of his conscience, preferred him, whilst he was yet negotiating the business of the divorce in Germany; as judging him the fittest person to put a *speedy end* to it by a definitive sentence; *which he readily performed, as soon as the king called upon him for that important piece of service.*

Bishop Burnet styles him a holy saint and martyr, and relates of him, that though his body was reduced to ashes, the fire spared his heart, p. 335. And he says expressly, that if this had happened in our church, we should have made a miracle of it. Ibid. And indeed, I am wholly of his mind: For such a thing cannot possibly be ascribed to any natural cause. Nay, what completes the paradox, he himself relates it as testimony of the archbishop's innocence; for he concludes from it, that though his hand erred; (to wit, in subscribing twice before his death to a formal abjuration of the errors of Luther and Zuinglius,) yet his heart had continued true; ib. and was therefore spared by the fire. This is both nonsense and contradiction with a vengeance. For moral guilt of outward actions is in the heart, not in its outward instrument, the hand, therefore ought rather to have been spared, as being the less guilty of the two. But be that as it will, if the preservation of the archbishop's heart was not miraculous, and yet cannot be ascribed to any natural cause, (for if it could, it would not be a testimony of innocence,) that is, if it was neither natural nor supernatural, I may conclude, without offence, that bishop Burnet's fine story, wherever he has picked it up, is a mere tale.

The remainder of the reign of king Henry, after the divorce from queen Catharine, was nothing but a continual series of rapine, sacrilege, bloodshed, and all such irregularities as the passions, avarice, luxury and revenge at

wont to suggest to persons delivered up by God to a reprobate sense, and armed with power to gratify their vicious inclinations in an arbitrary manner. So that he fully verified the character given of him by Sir Walter Raleigh, to wit, that if all the patterns of a merciless prince had been lost in the world, they might have been found in this one king: Who had struck such a terror into the clergy as well as laity, and held his parliament as well as council and courts of justice, in such an awe of him, that very few durst openly oppose his will: Insomuch that every thing, though ever so unwarrantable, was transacted under the plausible appearance of parliamentary proceedings and the regular course of justice. And those who had the courage to oppose the torrent, and refuse to bend their knees to Baal, soon felt the smart of the king's indignation, as I shall show you immediately.



## SECTION VII.

*King Henry is declared supreme head of the Church of England in spirituals.*

The first thing king Henry did, after his being solemnly excommunicated by Clement VII. on the score of his second marriage, was to throw off all obedience to the see apostolic,

and get himself declared supreme head of the church of England in spirituals: a most stupendous attempt, contrary to the express institution of Christ, and unknown to all antiquity! However, to make every thing appear with the authority of the nation stamped upon it, he called two parliaments, one in the beginning, the other towards the end of the year 1534. In the first, amongst other things, it was enacted; "That whereas, the clergy had truly acknowledged, that convocation is always assembled by the king's authority, and had promised his majesty, that they would not from thenceforth make or allege any new constitutions without his highness's assent or license: and whereas, divers constitutions, provincial and synodal, formerly enacted, are thought to be prejudicial to the king's prerogative—and the clergy had therefore humbly beseeched his majesty, that the said constitutions and canons might be committed to the examination of thirty-two men named by his majesty, to wit, sixteen of both houses of parliament, and sixteen of the clergy, who might annul or confirm the same as they found cause; it was enacted that his highness should at his pleasure appoint thirty-two men as aforesaid, to survey the said canons and constitutions for the confirmation or abolition of the same."

Here we have a committee established of thirty-two persons, half laymen, and vested with full power to abolish any ecclesiastical canon or constitution anciently made by the authority of a provincial or national synod.

So that if the sixteen laymen, who were put upon the level with the same number of the clergy in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, could but gain over to their side any one clergyman of the whole committee, which was to be entirely modelled and packed by the court, any thing they pleased was sure to pass by the plurality of voices.

The king had some time before trepanned the whole body of the clergy into a premunire, for acknowledging cardinal Wolsey's legatine power, though he had the king's broad seal for the exercising of it. Now by this premunire their persons became liable to imprisonment for life, and their estates to confiscation, so that both the one and the other were entirely at the king's mercy. But it seems the generality of them were not fond of suffering a lingering martyrdom, and they had but one way to prevent the execution of the premunire, which was an entire submission in matters of religion to the king; who (says Dr. Heylin) peremptorily required of them, that no constitution or ordinance should thenceforth be enacted, promulged, or put in execution by the clergy, unless the king's highness approved of it; to which they absolutely submitted; Anno 1532. And so it is no wonder that they should be mentioned in the above said acts as persons running into all the measures of the court; because the same motive of fear, which had made them turn prevaricators before, subsisting still, *they thought it better and safer to comply with a good grace, than be dragged to it like bears to the stake.*

Thus you see king Henry had brought the English clergy under his spiritual jurisdiction, and begun to act as supreme head of the Church of England, even before that title was settled upon him and his heirs and successors in a parliamentary way; which was not done till the meeting of the next parliament in the same year, 1534; wherein the following act passed, viz. That albeit the king was supreme head of the Church of England, and had been so recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocation; yet for more corroboration thereof, as also for extirpating all errors, heresies and abuses of the same, it was enacted that the king, his heirs and successors, kings of England, should be accepted and reputed the supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and have and enjoy, united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging or appertaining. And that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, restrained or amended, most to the pleasur

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A. G. the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and the conservation of the peace, unity, tranquillity of the realm; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary thereof notwithstanding."

This is that act, which made the first change in the religion in England. The Pope's title to the spiritual supremacy over the universal church, had always been acknowledged by the whole body of the English nation, as belonging to him by divine right, and inviolably maintained as an article of the christian faith. So far were our forefathers from entertaining any thoughts of placing the crown and mitre upon the same head, or authorising the hand that swayed the sceptre to stretch itself forth to the censor. This, on the contrary, was in all former ages regarded as a sacrilegious attempt, and a violation of Christ's own institution, who never appointed king's, but bishops, to govern his church in spiritual matters.

We read indeed of some princes, and those none of the best, who have endeavored to encroach upon the ancient immunities of the church. But they were always vigorously opposed, and their attempts proved generally unsuccessful. But to vest the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority in the person of a layman, nay, and entail it like forms or manners upon his heirs and successors, whether women or infants, was a proceeding not only *without precedent* in all the former ages of christianity, but has never since been follow

ed by any other christian nation in the world. It was in effect invading the sanctuary with armed force, and reducing the church into a province of the state.

So that I may modestly call it one of the most stupendous actions recorded in history: And it is such a stain upon the very infancy of the pretended godly reformation, as can never be wiped off. Yet it was this very act, that laid the foundation of it, and the whole superstructure of the English reformation was built upon this foundation; it being apparent that all the three reforming princes, to wit, king Henry, Edward VI: and queen Elizabeth, undertook that work, neither in the name nor by the authority of the prelatie order, but by virtue of their own spiritual supremacy: that is, as supreme judges in controversies of religion.

"Thomas Cromwell, a layman (says R. Baker) son to a blacksmith in Putney, being raised to high dignities was lastly made vicar general under the king in all ecclesiastical affairs. Who sat divers times in the convocation house amongst the bishops, as head over them," p. 408. This is confirmed by my lord Herbert, in whose history of king Henry, p. 468, I find that in a Synod of about twenty bishops, thirty nine abbots and friars, and fifty of the inferior clergy, being held to settle some articles of religion, they were subscribed to in the first place by Thomas Cromwell, and after him by Thomas of Canterbury, John of London, &c. And I find the same order of subscriptions afterwards to a decree relating to general coun-



cils, p. 470. So that although this was a synod held by the metropolitan of Canterbury, it was not the archbishop of that see, but Thomas Cromwell that presided in it. This worst person was likewise constituted the king's visitor, or rather plunderer general, of all the houses, beys, priories, and monasteries, both of men and women, within the kingdom; a great number of mercenary tools of the court being appointed to serve under him as the masterworkman; and from the extent of Cromwell's commission on this occasion, we may gather the full extent of the royal prerogative in spirituals; I shall deliver it in Mr. Collier's works, 2d part, 2d book, p. 104, 105. Cromwell (says he) being authorised by the king's letters patent, under the broad seal, to constitute deputies for a visitation, made choice of Richard Layton, Thomas Leigh, William Petre, Doctor John London, dean of Wallingford, &c. for this purpose. And now the time for the visitation drawing on, the king issued out letters of inhibition to the archbishop of Canterbury, charging him and his suffragans not to visit the clergy or religious till the royal visitation was over; meaning that which was to be managed under the vicar general Cromwell. And thus all episcopal jurisdiction was laid asleep, almost struck dead by the regal, during the king's pleasure.

The archbishop of Canterbury directed his mandate to the bishop of London, who was to transmit copies of the inhibition to the rest of the provincial bishops.

Layton, Leigh, London, &c. began their general visitation, under Cromwell. They were furnished, at least some of those first named, with a plenitude of power to visit all archbishops, bishops, and the rest of the inferior clergy; and to correct and reform, and exercise all manner of discipline, which belonged to ecclesiastical jurisdiction; they had likewise an authority to confirm or null the elections of prelates, to order instalments, to give institutions and inductions, to sequester the fruits of livings, to deprive or suspend archbishops, bishops, &c. to convene synods and preside in them and to make such reformatiions and orders as they shall think expedient. They had likewise an authority of trying all ecclesiastical causes, and exerting the censures of the church upon those who either refused to appear, or abide by the sentence. And as to monasteries, they had, as it were, an unlimited authority, and were empowered to allow pensions to such as were disposed to quit that way of living." Such was the exorbitant commission even of the sub-delegates, who acted under the king's vicar general. And as to their visitation of monasteries it is hard to say whether the motives upon which they acted, or the means they employed, or the inhumanities they practised in the execution of their commission, were more unchristian.

**SECTION VII.***Dissolution of religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII.*

Mallet, History of the Swiss, Vol. I, p. 105, says, the monks softened by their instructions, the ferocious manners of the people, and opposed their credit to the tyranny of the nobility, who knew no other occupation than war, and grievously oppressed their neighbours. On this account the government of monks was preferred to theirs. The people sought them for judges. It was an usual saying, that it was better to be governed by the bishop's crosier, than the monarch's sceptre. Drake's Literary Hours, Vol. II. p. 435. "The monks of Cassins, observes Warton, were distinguished not only for their knowledge of sciences, but their attention to polite learning, and an acquaintance with the classics. Their learned Abbot, Desiderous, collected the best Greek and Roman authors. The fraternity not only composed learned treatises on Music, Logic, Astronomy, and the Vitruvian Architecture, but likewise employed a portion of their time in transcribing Tacitus, &c. This laudable example was in the 11th and 12th centuries, followed with spirit and emulation, by many English monasteries."—Turner, History of England, Vol. II. p. 332, and 361. "No tyranny was ever established that was unequivocally the creature of popular will nor longer maintained by popular support; in no point did personal interest and public

welfare more cordially unite than in the encouragement of monasteries." Bates, *Rural Philosophy*, p. 322. "It is to be lamented, that while the papists are industriously planting nunneries and other religious societies in this kingdom, some good protestants are not so far excited to imitate their example, as to form establishments for the education and protection of young women of serious disposition, or who are otherwise unprovided, where they might enjoy at least a temporary refuge, be instructed in the principles of religion, and in all such useful and domestic arts, as might qualify them, who were inclined to return into the world, for a pious and laudable discharge of the duties of common life. Thus might the comfort and welfare of many individuals be promoted to the great benefit of society at large and the interests of Popery, by improving on its own principles, be considerably counteracted." *Quarterly Review*, Dec. 1811.

"The world never has been so indebted to any other body of men as to the illustrious order of Benedictine monks; but historians, in relating the evil of which they were the occasion, too frequently forget the good which they produced. Even the commonest readers are acquainted with the arch miracle monger, St. Dunstan, whilst the most learned of our countrymen scarcely remember the names of those admirable men, who went forth from England, and became the apostles of the north. Tinian and Juan Fernandiz are not more beautiful spots on the ocean than Malmesbury, Linda.

farne and Yarrow were in the ages of our Hephtharchy. A community of pious men, devoted to literature and to the useful arts as well as to religion, seems, in those days like a green Oasis amidst the desert. Like stars on a moonless night, they shine upon us with a tranquil ray.

If ever there was a man, who could truly be called venerable, it was he, to whom the appellation is constantly fixed, Bede, whose life was passed in instructing his own generation, and preparing records for posterity. In those days the church offered the only asylum from the evils to which every country was exposed—amidst continual wars the church enjoyed peace—it was regarded as a sacred realm, by men who, though they hated one another, beleaved and feared the same God. Abused as it was by the worldly minded and ambitious, and disgraced by the artifices of the designing and the follies of the fanatic, it afforded a shelter to those who were better than the world in their youth, or weary of it in their age. The wise as well as the timid and gentle fled to this Goshen of God, which enjoyed its own light and calm amidst darkness and storms." This is a very elegant passage; but as Turner's protestantism impels him to apply the term "tyranny" to that which honest feeling bids him say was the "creature of the popular will;" and was produced and upheld by "a cordial union of personal interest and public welfare," so the protestantism of the reviewers leads them to talk about "evil" occasioned by an order, to

whom "the world is more indebted than to any other body of men;" and it also leads them to repeat the hacknied charge against St. Dunstan, forgetting, I dare say, that he is one of the saints in the Protestant church calendar! However, here is more than enough to serve as an answer to the whole herd of writers who have put forth their venom against the Monastic Orders.

If the monasteries had been the cause of evil, would they have been protected with such care by so many wise and virtuous kings, legislators, and judges? Perhaps Alfred was the greatest king that ever lived. What writer of eminence, whether poet, lawyer, or historian, has not selected him as the object of his highest praises! As king, as soldier, as patriot, as lawgiver, in all his characters he is, by all, regarded as having been the greatest, wisest, and most virtuous of kings. And is it reasonable, then, for us to suppose, that he, whose whole soul was wrapped up in the hope of making his people free, honest, virtuous and happy; is it reasonable to suppose, that he would have been, as he was, one of the most munificent founders of monasteries, if these institutions had been vicious in themselves, or had

tended to evil? We have not these institutions and effects immediately before our eyes.

We do not actually see the monasteries. But we know of them two things, namely, that they were most anxiously cherished by Alfred and his tutor, Saint Swithin; and that they were destroyed by the bloody tyrant, Henry th

VIII., and the not less bloody ruffian, Thomas Cromwell. Upon these two facts alone we might pretty safely decide on the merits of the institutions.

All ranks and degrees were benefited by these institutions, which, with malignant historians, have been a subject of endless abuse, and the destruction of which they have recorded with so much delight, as being one of the brightest features in the "Reformation?" Nor must we by any means, overlook the effects of these institutions on the mere face of the country.— That soul must be low and mean indeed, which is insensible to all feeling of pride in the noble edifices of its country. Love of country, that variety of feelings which altogether constitute what we properly call patriotism, consist in part in the admiration of, and veneration for, ancient and magnificent proofs of skill and of opulence. The monastics built as well as wrote for posterity. The never dying nature of their institution set aside, in all their undertakings, every calculation as to time and age. Whether they built or planted, they set the generous example of providing for the pleasure, the honor, the wealth and greatness of generations upon generations yet unborn. They executed every thing in the very best manner; their gardens, fish-ponds, farms; in all, in the whole of their economy, they set an example tending to make the country beautiful, to make it an object of *pride with the people*, and to make the nation, *truly and permanently great*. Go into any country, and survey even at this day, the ru-

ins of its, perhaps, twenty Abbeys and Priories; and, then, ask yourself, "what have we in exchange for these?" Go to the site of some once opulent Convent. Look at the cloister, now become, in the hands of a rack-renter, the receptacle for dung, fodder, and fagot wood; see the hall, where, for ages, the widow, the orphan, the aged and the stranger, found a table ready spread; see a bit of its walls now helping to make a cattle shed, the rest having been hauled away to build a work house: recognize, in the side of a barn, a part of the once magnificent Chapel: and, if chained to the spot by your melancholy musings, you be admonished of the approach of night by the voice of the screechowl, issuing from those arches, which once, at the same hour, resounded with the vespers of the monk, and which have for seven hundred years been assailed by storms and tempests in vain; if thus admonished of the necessity of seeking food, shelter, and a bed, lift your eyes and look at the white-washed and dry-rotten shell on the hill, called the "gentleman's house;" and, apprized of the "board-wages" and the spring-guns, suddenly turn your head; jog away from the scene of devastation; with "old English hospitality" in your mind reach the nearest inn, and there in a room half warmed and half-lighted, and with a reception precisely proportioned to the presumed length of your purse, sit down and listen to an account of the hypocritical pretences, the base motives, the tyrannical and bloody means, under which, from which, and by which, that de-



vastation was effected, and that hospitality banished forever from the land.

We have already seen something of these pretences, motives and acts of tyranny and barbarity; we have seen that the beastly lust of the chief tyrant was the ground work of what is called the "Reformation;" we have seen that he could not have proceeded in his course without the concurrence of the parliament; we have seen, that, to obtain the concurrence, he held out to those who composed it, a participation in the spoils of monasteries; and, when we look at the magnitude of their possessions, when we consider the beauty and fertility of the spots on which they, in general, were situated, when we think of the envy which the love borne them by the people must have excited in the hearts of a great many of the noblemen and gentlemen; when we thus reflect, we are not surprised, that these were eager for a "Reformation," that promised to transfer the envied possessions to them. When men have power to commit, and are resolved to commit acts of injustice, they are never at a loss for pretences. We shall presently see what were the pretences under which this devastation of England was begun; but, to do the work, there required a workman, as, to slaughter an ox, there requires a butcher. To turn the possessors of so large a part of the estates out of those estates, to destroy establishments venerated *by the people* from their childhood, to set all *law, divine as well as human, at defiance, to violate every principle on which property*

ted, to rob the poor and helpless of the means of sustenance, to deface the beauty of the country, and make it literally a heap of ruins; to do these things, there required a suitable agent; and that agent the tyrant found in Thomas Cromwell, whose name, along with that of Cranmer, ought "to stand for accursed in the calendar."

This Cromwell had been an underling of some sort in the family of Cardinal Wolsey, and had recommended himself to the king by his sycophancy to him, and his treachery to his old master. The king now became head of the church, and having the supremacy to exercise, had very judiciously provided himself with Cranmer as primate; and to match him, he provided himself with Cromwell, who was equal to Cranmer in impiety and baseness, rather surpassed him in dastardliness, and exceeded him decidedly in quality of ruffian. All nature, could not, perhaps, have afforded another man so fit to be the "Royal Vicegerent and Vicar-General" of the new head of the English Church. Accordingly, with this character the brutal blacksmith was invested. He was to exercise, "all the spiritual authority belonging to the king, for the administration of justice in all cases touching the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the Godly Reformation and redress of error, heresies, and abuses in the said church." We shall very soon see proofs enough of the baseness of this man, for whom *ruffian* is too gentle a term.

What chance then, did the monasteries stand

in his hand? He was created peer. He sat before the primate in parliament, he sat above all the bishops in assemblies of the clergy, he took precedence of all the nobles, whether in office or out of office, and, as in character, so in place, he was second only to the chief tyrant himself. In order to begin the "Godly Reformation;" that is to say, the work of plunder, the "Vicegerent" blacksmith set on foot a visitation of the monasteries! Dreadful visitation! He, active as he was in wickedness, could not do all the work himself. He therefore appointed deputies to assist in making this visitation. The kingdom was divided into districts for this purpose, and two deputies were appointed to visit each district. The object was to obtain grounds of accusation against the monks and nuns. When we consider what the object was, and what was the character of the man to whom the work was committed, we may easily imagine what sort of men these deputies were. They were, in fact, fit to be the subalterns of such a chief. Some of the very worst men in all England; men of notoriously infamous characters; men who had been convicted of heinous crimes; some who had actually been branded; and, probably, not one man who had not repeatedly deserved the halter.

Think of a respectable, peaceful, harmless and pious family, broken in upon, all of a sudden, by a brace of burglars with murder written on their scowling brows, demanding an *instant production* of their title deeds, money and jewels; imagine such a scene as this, and

you have then some idea of the visitations of these monsters, who came with the threat of the tyrant on their lips, who menaced the victims with charges of high treason, who wrote in their reports, not what was, but what their merciless employers wanted them to write. The monks and nuns, who had never dreamed of the possibility of such proceedings, who had never an idea that Magna Charta and all the laws of the land could be set aside in a moment, and whose recluse and peaceful lives rendered them wholly unfit to cope with at once crafty and desperate villany, fell before these ruffians as chickens fall before the kite. The reports made by these villains, met with no contradiction; the accused parties had no means of making a defence; there was no court for them to appear in; they dared not even if they had had the means, to offer a defence or make a complaint; for they had seen the horrible consequences, the burnings, the rippings up, of all those of their brethren who had ventured to whisper their dissent from any dogma or decree of the tyrant. The project was to despoil people of their property; and yet the parties, from whom the property was to be taken, were to have no court in which to plead their cause, no means of obtaining a hearing, could make even no complaint but at the peril of their lives. They and those who depended on them were to be at once stripped of this great mass of property, without any other ground than that of reports, made by men, sent, as the malignant *Home* himself confesses, for the express pu

pose of finding a pretence for the dissolution of the monasteries and for the King's taking to himself property that had never belonged to him or his predecessors.

However, upon reports thus obtained, an act of Parliament was passed, in March, 1536, the same year that saw the end of Anne Bolen, for the suppression, that is to say, confiscation of three hundred and seventy-six Monasteries, and for granting their estates, real and personal, to the king and his heirs! He took plate, jewels, gold and silver images and ornaments. This act of monstrous tyranny was, however, base as the parliament was, as full as it was of greedy plunderers, not passed without some opposition. Hume says, that "it does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law." He frequently quoted Spelman as an historical authority; but, it did not suit to quote Spelman's "History of Sacrilege," in which this protestant says, that "the bill stuck long in the lower house, and could not get passage, when the king commanded the Commons to attend him in the afternoon in his gallery, where he let them wait till late in the afternoon, and then, coming out of his chamber, walking a turn or two amongst them, and looking angrily on them, first on one side, and then on the other, at last, "I hear (saith he) that my bill will not pass; but I will have it pass, or I will have some of your heads; and without other rhetoric, returned to his chamber. Enough was said; the bill passed, and all was given him as he desired."

The moment the tyrant got possession of the church estates, he began to grant them away to his "assigns," as the act calls them. Great promises had been held out that the king, when in possession of these estates, would never more want taxes from the people; and it is possible, that he thought, that he should be able to do without taxes; but, he soon found, that he was not destined to keep the plunder to himself; and that, in short, he must make a sudden stop if not actually undo all that he had done, unless he divided the spoil with others, who instantly poured in upon him for their share, and they so beset him that he had got not one moment's peace. They knew that he had good things; they had taken care to enable him to have 'assigns;' and they, as they intended from the first would give him no rest, until he, "to the pleasure of Almighty God and to the honor and profit of the realm," made them these assigns. Thus, then, it was an act of sheer tyranny; it was a pure Algerine proceeding at last. The pretences availed nothing; the reports of Cromwell's myrmidons were not credited; every artifice had failed; resort was had to the halter and the axe, to accomplish that 'Reformation,' of which the Scotch historian Burnet, has called this monster the first born son! Some such man, he says, was necessary, to bring about this "great and glorious event." What! was ever good yet produced by wickedness so atrocious? Did any man but this Burnet and his countryman Hume, ever affect to believe, that such barefaced injustice and tyranny were jus-

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tified on the ground of their tending to good consequences? Before four years had passed over his head, the king found himself as poor as if he had never confiscated a single convent; each one of the plunderers would have a part of the spoil. The tyrant hanged and ripped up and quartered the Abbot of the famous abbey of Glastonbury, whose body was mangled by the executioners, and whose head and limbs were hung up on what is called the torre, which overlooked the abbey. An act was passed, (31 Henry VIII. Chap. 13.) giving all the monasteries to the king, his heirs and assigns, and also other houses, religious convents, and all hospitals and colleges into the bargain.—The carcass being thus laid prostrate, the rapacious vultures, who had assisted in the work, flew on it, and began to tear it in pieces. The parliament, who were to share and who had the most largely share, in the plunder, had given not only the lands and houses to the tyrant, but rather had taken them to themselves, but in the same short way, of all the goods, stock on farms, crops, and of more consequences, of the gold, and jewels. Let the reader judge of the things that now took place. The poorest convents had some images, vases, and other things of gold or silver. Many of them possessed a great deal in this way. The altars of their churches were generally enriched with the precious medals, if not with costly jewels; and, which is not to be overlooked, the people in those days, were honest enough to

suffer all these things to remain in their places without a standing army and without police officers. Never in all probability, since the world began, was there so rich a harvest of plunder.

The ruffians of Cromwell entered the convents; they tore down the altars to get away the gold and silver; ransacked the chests and drawers of the monks and nuns; tore off the covers of books that were ornamented with the precious metals. These books were all in manuscript. Single books had taken, in many cases, half a life time to compose and copy out fair. Whole libraries, the getting of which together had taken ages upon ages, and had cost immense sums of money, were scattered abroad by these hellish ruffians, when they had robbed the covers of their rich ornaments. The ready money in the convents, down to the last shilling, was seized. In short, the most rapacious and unfeeling soldiery never, in town delivered up to be sacked, proceeded with greediness, shamelessness and brutality, to be at all compared with those of these heroes of the Protestant Reformation; and this, observe, towards persons, women as well as men, who had committed no crime known to the laws, who had no crime regularly laid to their charge, who had no hearing in their defence, a large part of whom had within a year been declared, by this same parliament, to lead most Godly and useful lives, the whole of whose possessions were guaranteed to them by the great charter as much as the king's crown was to him, an



whose estates were enjoyed for the benefit of the poor as well as for that of these plundered possessors themselves.

The tyrant was of course the pocketeer of these species of plunder. Cromwell carried or sent it to him in parcels, twenty ounces of gold at one time, fifty at another; now a parcel of precious stones of one sort, then a parcel of another. Hume, whose main object is to blacken the Catholic religion, takes every possible occasion for saying something or other in praise of its destroyer. He could not, he was too cunning, to ascribe justice or humanity to a monster whose very name signifies injustice and cruelty. He therefore speaks of his high-spirit, his magnificence and generosity. He was a high spirited, magnificent and generous king, to be sure, who sat in his palace in London, to receive with his own hands the gold, silver, jewels, and pieces of money of which his unoffending subjects had been robbed by ruffians sent by himself to commit the robbery. One of the items runs in these words:—"Item, delivered into the King's royal majesty, the same day, of the same stuffe, foure chalices of golde weighing all together an hundred and six ounces--received, Henry Rex." There are high spirit, magnificence, and generosity! Amongst the stock of this "generous prince's" pawnbroker's shop; or, rather, his storehouse of stolen goods; were images of all sorts, *candlesticks, sockets, cruets, cups, pixes, goblets, basins, spoons, diamonds, sapphires, pearls, finger-rings, ear rings, pieces of money of all val-*

ues, even down to shillings, bits of gold and silver torn from the covers of books, or cut and beaten out of the altars; crosses, or images, were inlaid with precious metal; the wood was frequently burnt to get at the metal.

But there were at Canterbury, two objects by which the "Reformation" birds of prey were particularly attracted; namely, the monastery of St. Austin and the tomb of Thomas A. Becket. The former of those renowned men to whose preaching and whose long life of incessant and most disinterested labour England owed the establishment of Christianity in the land, had for eight or nine centuries been regarded as the apostle of England. His shrine was in the monastery dedicated to him; and as it was in all respects, a work of great magnificence, it offered a plenteous booty to the plunderers, who, if they could have got at the tomb of Jesus Christ himself, and had found it equally rich, would, beyond all question, have torn it to pieces.

But, rich as this prize was, there was a greater in the shrine of Thomas A. Becket, in the Cathedral church. Becket, who was archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Henry II. who resisted that king, when the latter was manifestly preparing to rob the church, and to enslave and pillage the people, had been held in the highest veneration all over Christendom for more than three hundred years, when the Reformation plunderers assailed his tomb: but especially was his name venerated in England, where the people looked upon him as a martyr

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to their liberties as well as their religion, he having been barbarously murdered by ruffians sent from the king, and for no other cause than that he persevered in resisting an attempt to violate the great Charter.

Pilgrimages were continually made on his tomb, offerings incessantly poured into it, churches and hospitals, and other establishments of piety and charity were dedicated to him, as, for instance, the church of St. Thomas in the city of London, the monastery of Sende in Surry, the Hospital of St. Thomas in the borough of Southwark, and things of this sort, in great numbers, all over the country. The offerings at his shrine had made it exceedingly rich and magnificent. A king of France had given to it a diamond, supposed to be the most valuable then in Europe.

Hume, never losing sight of the double object of maligning the Catholic religion and degrading the English nation, ascribes this sort of half adoration of Becket to the craft of the priests and to the folly and superstition of the people. He is vexed to death to have to relate that more than a hundred thousand pilgrims to Becket's shrine have been assembled at one time in Canterbury. Indeed! why, then, there must have been some people living in England, even in those old times; and those people must have had some wealth too: though, according to the whole tenor of the lying book, which the Scotch call our history, this was, at the time I am now speaking of, a poor, beggarly, scarcely inhabited country.

The city of Canterbury does not now contain men, women, and children, all counted and well puffed out, more than twelve thousand seven hundred and twenty souls! Poor souls! How could they find lodging and entertainment for a hundred thousand grown persons! And this, too, observe, at one corner of the island. None but persons of some substance could have performed such a journey.—Here is a fact that just slips out sideways, which is of itself much more than enough to make us reflect and inquire before we swallow what the Scottish philosophers are now presenting to us on the subjects of national wealth and population. And, then, as to the craft and superstition which Hume says produced this concourse of pilgrims, just as if either were necessary to produce unbounded veneration for the name of a man, of whom it was undeniably true, that he had sacrificed his life, and that too, in the most signal manner, for the rights and liberties and religion of his country. Was it “folly and superstition,” or was it wisdom and gratitude and real piety to show, by overt acts, veneration for such a man.

The bloody tyrant who had sent Moore and Fisher to the block, and who, of course hated the name of Becket, caused his ashes to be dug up and scattered in the air, and forbade the future insertion of his name in the calendar. The tomb of Becket was of wood most exquisitely wrought, inlaid abundantly with precious stones of all sorts. Here was an object for “Reformation” piety to fix its Godly eyes on

on! Were such a shrine to be found in one of our churches now, how the swaddlers would cry out for another "Reformation!" The gold, silver, and jewels, filled two chests, each of which required six or eight men to move them to the door of the Cathedral! How the eyes of Hume's "highminded, munificent, and generous prince" must have glistened when the chests were opened! They vied, I dare say, with the diamonds themselves. Those who got the estates were bound to destroy the buildings, or to knock them partly down, so that the people should, at once, be deprived of all hope of seeing a revival of what they had lost, and in order to give them encouragement to take leases under the new owners.



## SECTION X.

*A further account of the effects of the Reformation under king Henry.*

Every thing was carried on under the mask of religion. Plundering the church, destroying the nurseries of piety and learning, demolishing the noble monuments of the religious generosity of their ancestors, violating the wills of the dead and robbing the living of their lawful possessions: In a word, forcing innumerable persons of both sexes, that had

consecrated themselves to God by solemn vows, out of their solitary cells to wander up and down in the world, and either beg their bread, or engage themselves in courses wholly unbecoming their state. All these unchristian proceedings have ever since passed currently under the specious name of zeal for a thorough godly reformation, and were the first fruits of it. But as there were some, at least, whose conscience would not permit them either to renounce or dissemble their ancient faith, of which the belief of the Pope's supremacy in spirituals had always been regarded as a capital point, these soon felt the utmost rigour of king Henry's law, which made it high treason to refuse the oath of supremacy, or acknowledge the bishop of Rome supreme head of the universal church. So that a large effusion of innocent blood became a necessary consequence of this godly reformation, which being built upon the king's supremacy as its main foundation, if the opposers of it had been tolerated to follow the dictates of their conscience without suffering for it.

Dr. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, acknowledged by all Protestants to have been a learned and holy prelate, appeared at the head of these champions, who had the courage to lay down their lives in defence of the ancient faith. Dr. Heylin reckons thirteen abbots and priors, and about seventy-seven monks and other religious persons, besides a great number of the laity, who all suffered death as in cases of high treason for the same cause. On

of these was Sir Thomas Moore, who had been chancellor of England, and behaved himself in that high station with so much integrity and disinterestedness, that when by a voluntary resignation he returned to a private life, he had not in the least improved his fortune. A rare example! But this great man had a heart above this world; the riches and honours whereof he despised as much as they are usually coveted by others.

My lord Herbert relates of him, that finding his lady and daughter, when they were acquainted that he had resigned his place, in a very great concern about it by reason of the narrowness of their circumstances, he spoke thus to them: We will begin with slender diet of the students of law, and if that will not hold out, we will take such commons as they have at Oxford; which yet if our purses will not stretch to maintain, our last refuge will be to go a begging, and at every man's door sing together, a *salve regina* to get alms, p. 372. This, though a trivial passage in the life of so eminent a person, gives us a clearer idea than the most memorable actions of the true character of the man; and shews that one who despised even the ordinary conveniences of life, was above the temptation of turning trimmer in religion upon any worldly consideration, or damning his soul to save his life. And so it is no wonder, that when he was called upon by the king's officers, he walked out of the tower, where he had been kept prisoner for above a twelve-month, to the scaffold set up for him.

as unconcerned, nay, with as much cheerfulness, as if he had been going to take the air; and laid down his head upon the block with the same repose of mind, as he used to lay it down upon his pillow to take his natural rest. The same lord Herbert gives the following account of his death: "This great person, going shortly after to the place of execution, met among many friends only one enemy, who openly reviled him for a sentence heretofore given in chancery; to which he made no answer, but that if it were to do, he would do it again. And now being resolved to die, he returned to his wonted facetiousness. Therefore being to go up the scaffold, he said to one, 'friend, help me up, and when I go down again let me shift for myself as I can.' Being now mounted, the executioner, as the custom is, asked him forgiveness, which he granted, but told him withal, he would get no credit in cutting off his head, his neck was so short. Then laying down his head upon the block, bid the executioner stay till he had laid aside his beard. For (said he) it never committed treason. After which, coming to some private devotions, he received his death. Thus ended Sir Thomas Moore, with so little consternation, that even terrors of death could not take off the pleasure he had in his conceited and merry language; which many attributed to his innocence," p. 422. But innocence and virtue, though they took away the sting of death, were no protection against the unbridled passions of an arbitrary prince, enraged to see himself



openly condemned by the resolute opposition of a person universally esteemed both for his piety and learning. And in reality one single person of Sir Thomas Moore's or bishop Fisher's unspotted character, gives a greater reputation to a cause wherein conscience and religion are concerned, and is a more solid proof of the justice of it, than a thousand temporizing mercenary souls, whose actions appear manifestly to be the fruit of their interested hopes and fears.

"Most true it is," says Dr. Heylin, "that it was something of the latest before king Henry cast his eye on the lands of bishoprics, though there were some, who thought the time long till they fell upon them. Concerning which there goes a story, that after the court harpies had devoured the greatest part of the spoil, which came by the suppression of abbeyes, they began to seek some other way to satiate that greedy appetite, which the divisions of the former booty had left unsatisfied; and for the satisfying whereof they found not any thing as necessary as the bishop's lands. This to effect, Sir Thomas Seymour is employed as the fittest man, being in favour with the king, and brother to queen Jane his most beloved and best wife; and having opportunity of access unto him, as being one of his privy chamber; and he not having any good affection to archbishop Cranmer, desired that the experiment would be tried on him. And therefore took his time to inform the king, that my lord of Canterbury did nothing but fell his

woods, letting long leases for great fines, and making havock of the royalties of his archbishopric to raise thereby a fortune for his wife and children. Withal he acquainted the king that the archbishop kept no hospitality in respect of such a large revenue; and that in the opinion of many wise men, it were more convenient for the bishops to have a sufficient yearly stipend out of the exchequer, than to be so encumbered with temporal royalties; being so great a hindrance to their studies and pastoral charge. And that the lands and royalties being taken to his majesty's use would afford him, besides the said yearly stipends, a great yearly income.

"The king considering of it, could not think fit, that such a plausible proposition, as taking to himself the lands of the bishops should be made in vain, only he was resolved to prey farther off and not to fall upon the spoil too near the court, for fear of having more partakers in booty than might stand with his profit. And to this end he deals with Holgate, preferred not long before from Landaff to the see of York; from whom he takes at one time no fewer than seventy manors and townships of good old rent, giving him in exchange to the like yearly value certain impropriations, pensions, tithes and portions of tithes; but all of an extended rent, which had accrued to the crown by the fall of abbeys. He dismembered also by these arts certain manors from the see of London, and others in like manner from the see of Canterbury; but not without some

reasonable compensation for them. And although, by reason of his death, which followed soon after, there was no farther alienation made in his time of the church's patrimony, yet having opened such a grasp, and discovered this secret that the sacred patrimony might be alienated with so little trouble, the courtiers of king Edward's time would not be kept from breaking violently into it, and making up their own fortunes in the spoil of bishopricks. So impossible a thing it is for the ill example of princes not to find followers in all ages, especially where profit and preferment may be furthered by it."



## SECTION X.

*The Reformation carried on in the reign of Edward VI. and the true motives of it.*

I have now done with king Henry's reign, whom a merry Protestant writer styles the postillion of the Reformation. I presume this author thought fit to allot him so mean a part, in punishment of his not carrying on the Reformation any thing considerably farther than the bare discarding of the Pope. For after he *had done that useful piece of service, and opened so wide a gap for a thorough godly Reformation, it was expected by most, that he*

would have proceeded farther. But he disappointed their expectations and continued in most things a zealous papist to the very last. Nay, he took care before his death to leave his young successor, Edward VI. in the hands of such persons as he had reason to think were cordially affected to the six famous articles published by him in defence of the ancient faith, since they had all made public profession of them during his life. But as soon as he was dead, they wisely remembering the old proverb, that a dead dog cannot bite, the terrible Henry, who a little before had made them all tremble with a frown, was no more regarded than the meanest of those he had sent before him to the other world; and his will, which till then had been arbitrary, was laid aside like an old coat worn thread bare. The truth of the matter is, that as long as king Henry lived, none could hope for any share in his favour or the plunder of religious houses, without conforming at least in outward appearance to the religion himself professed. Nay, he was such a persecutor of non-conformists, that all convicted Lutherans and Zuinglians were sure to be punished with death. Inso-much; that king Henry's last queen was herself in imminent danger of losing her head, upon a bare suspicion of being addicted to Lutheranism. But after his death, there appeared immediately a new scene, and a change of religion was resolved upon as a necessary expedient to serve the ends of those court-harpies who were still gaping after more booty.

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he proceeded farther. But he disappointed his expectations and continued in a zealous papist to the very last. He took care before his death to leave his successor, Edward VI. in the hands of such as he had reason to think were devoted to the six famous articles by him in defence of the ancient religion. They had all made public profession of his life. But as soon as he was wisely remembering the dead dog cannot bite, the

a little before, was no more than a frown, those he had feared of world; and his arbitrary, was as long as king for any share in religious houses, outward appearance. Nay, professed. Nay, conformists, and Zuinglians and death. Inso- queen her head losing her head and her head and her head

As to the king, he is but just of an age to begin to learn his catechism. So you may easily guess he had his lesson taught him. Yet to the shame of the Reformation, he was solemnly declared the supreme head of the Church of England in spirituals; that is, supreme head of controversies in religion, and the source of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the realm. Insomuch, that in the first year of his reign, there passed an act entitled, an act for the election of bishops, and what seals and styles shall be used by spiritual persons, &c. Concerning which act Dr. Heylin writes thus, p. 54: "In the composing of this act," says he, "there was more danger couched than at first appeared. By the last branch thereof it was plain and evident, that the intent of the contrivers was, by degrees, to weaken the authority of the episcopal order, by forcing them from their strong hold of divine institution, and making them no other than the king's ministers only, or his ecclesiastical sheriffs (as a man might say) to execute his will, and disperse his mandates. And of this act such use was made, that the bishops of those times were not in a capacity of conferring orders, but as they were thereunto empowered by a special license."

The tenor whereof, if Sanders may be believed, was in these words, to wit: The king, to such or such a bishop, greeting; whereas all and all manner of jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, flows from the king as from *the supreme head of all the body, &c.* We

therefore give and grant to you full power and license (to continue during our good pleasure) of conferring orders within your diocese, and promoting fit persons unto holy orders, even to that of priesthood. A most noble church! wherein bishops were obliged to receive their powers of faculties for the exercising of their ecclesiastical functions from a child! but was it so in the days of old? Was it according to the institution of Christ? However, in confirmation of this fact, which indeed appears incredible in itself, I shall quote a passage from Mr. Collier, in his 2d part, 3d book, p. 169, wherein he rectifies a mistake touching this matter of bishop Burnet, whom he always compliments with the title of our learned church-historian; I wish he could with as much justice have given him the titles of true and impartial, which are as necessary qualifications as learning to make a good historian.

The passage is somewhat long, but very much to the purpose: "Our learned church historian," says he, "observes, this bishop [meaning bishop Bonner, whom he had spoke of just before] took a strange commission from the king. Whether the other bishops, continues this author, took such commissions I know not, but, am certain there are none such in Cranmer's register. After Bonner had taken his commission, he might well have been called one of the king's bishops." These are Burnet's words, quoted by M. Collier, who goes on thus: "As this learned historian observes, the contents of Bonner's com-

mission were extraordinary; for it begins thus: That the king is the fountain of all manner of jurisdiction and authority; as well ecclesiastical as secular; and that those who formerly exercised this jurisdiction, did it not only in a precarious manner, and upon royal courtesy, and that therefore it ought to be returned whenever his majesty shall please to call for it. And that since the lord Cromwell, knight of the garter, vicegerent and vicar-general to preside, manage and direct in all ecclesiastical causes, was so far employed in matters of state, that he was not at leisure to discharge the functions of a vicegerent, and manage the ecclesiastical jurisdiction wholly delegated to him by the king, supreme head of the Church of England, &c. Because Cromwell was too busy, and could not be every where, nor execute the office of an universal superintendent: For this reason, as the instrument continues, the king gives Bonner a commission to execute all the branches of the episcopal authority under his highness. For the purpose, he has a royal license to ordain within the diocese of London; to visit the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, and all other colleges, hospitals, monasteries, clergy, and laity, within his district. He has likewise a power given him to hear causes, and to give sentence in the spiritual courts; to exercise discipline, and inflict censures according to the directions of the law and the degrees of the criminal offences; and, in short, to execute every thing belonging to the authority and jurisdiction of a bishop. And



after the king had thus declared himself patriarch in his dominions, claimed all manner of spiritual authority, and pronounced the bishops no more than delegates at pleasure: After this these words are thrown into the commission to give it the more plausible complexion, 'besides those things, which are known from holy scriptures to belong to you by divine right.'

"Now, with submission, this clause seems to come in too late, and is utterly inconsistent with the former part of the commission. For if the king is the fountain of all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; if his lay vicegerent might lawfully supply the room of all the bishops in the execution of their office, are only the king's representatives, and revocable at pleasure; if these affirmations are all defensible, as the commission sets forth, then, without question, the hierarchy can have no jurisdiction assigned in the New Testament, nor any authority derived from our Saviour.

"But if the Church is a distinct and entire society; if in pure spirituals she is constituted independent of all the kings on the earth; if she is furnished with powers sufficient to answer the ends of her character; if these powers were settled by our Saviour upon the apostles and their successors to the world's end; if the hierarchy can make out this title, then I must crave leave to think, those who suggested the draught of this instrument were no great divines. But how extraordinary soever this commission may seem, it was certainly com-

plied with, and that by other bishops besides Cranmer.

“For the purpose, Cranmer took out one of the same tenor from king Henry VI. Now if Bonner was so much to blame for complying to this latitude, the same imputation must fall upon Cranmer. To which we may add, that this was not the first commission of this kind taken out by Cranmer. For, as our historian observes, the order of council made in the beginning of the reign of king Edward VI. requires the bishops to take out new commissions of the same form with those they had taken out in king Henry’s time; only with this difference, that there is no mention made of a vicar-general in these commissions, there being none after Cromwell advanced to that dignity. If no such commission, as this learned gentleman remarks, taken by Cranmer from king Henry, be found in his register, it does not follow he took out no such instrument, for his register is imperfect in many places. To speak clearly, he took out such a commission from king Henry, some years before Bonner. For, from the collections of Dr. Yale, the learned Harmer cites a transcript of this commission, agreeing exactly with that of Bonner abovementioned, to which this note is subjoined; *tales licentias acceperunt Thomas archiepiscopus Cantuariensis mense Octobri, 1535. Eduardus archiep. Eborac. Joannes episc. Lincoln, 13 Octob. 1535, &c.* Now this Dr. Yale being an eminent advocate in doctors commons in Cranmer’s time, and afterwards principal register

and vicar-general to archbishop Parker, must be owned an unexceptionable evidence for this point.

“Farther, our learned historian has mis-reported Bonner, in saying he was one of the popish party at this time, and took out his commission to serve that interest. For Fox has given several instances to prove, that Bonner, till the fall of Cromwell, was a zealous promoter of the Reformation, which is likewise afterwards confessed by our historian.”

Thus the learned Mr. Collier, who had indeed a much juster claim to that title than the author he bestows it so liberally upon, unless wilful falsehoods are a mark of learning. But be that as it will, the piece I have quoted justifies the sharpest reflections upon Cranmer's memory, that second Athanasius, as bishop Burnet calls him, who not only had the meanness to bend his neck under the most dishonorable yoke that ever was laid upon persons of his sacred character, but by his base flatteries of the worst of princes, was himself the most busy and active in preparing it both for himself and his brother bishops.

Now, therefore, to answer your question, who were the chief promoters of that great ecclesiastical revolution which happened in the reign of Edward VI.? They were of two different sorts, for the greatest part of them were but mere tools, set at work like day labourers by the great men at court, to do the drudging part for them; and these, though most of them had also their private views, were never

let into the secret mystery of the reforming trade, lest there should have been too many sharers in the profits of it, which they, who were at the helm, and had the chief management and superintendency of the whole business, designed to engross mostly to themselves.

They could not have done it with any plausible colour. For if the ancient faith had been kept up, they would not have had the least pretence to lay their sacrilegious hands on the rich spoils, which came in flowing to them, of course, upon the innovations they made in that faith.

Let us hear Dr. Heylin speak of the motives, which spurred on their zeal to these astonishing innovations. This author, in the preface to his history of the Reformation, after a short account of king Henry's throwing off the Pope's authority, touches briefly upon what passed in the reign of Edward VI. Some great men, says he, about the court, under colour of removing such corruptions as remained in the church, had cast their eyes upon the spoil of shrines and images, and the improving of their own fortunes by the chantry lands; all which they most sacrilegiously divided among themselves.

Then speaking of a proposal started by some of the Zuinglian party to put down altars, he goes on thus: "The touching of this string *made excellent music to most of the grandees of the court; who had before cast many an envious eye on the costly hangings, that mass*

plate and other rich and precious utensils, which adorned these altars—Besides there is no small spoil to be made of copes, some of them being made of cloth of tissue; of cloth of gold and silver, or embroidered velvet. And might not these be handsomely converted to private use, to serve as carpets for their tables, coverlets to their beds, or cushions for their chairs or windows?

“Hereupon some rude people are encouraged underhand to beat down some altars; which makes way for an order of the council table to take down all the rest, and set up tables in their places; followed by a commission to be executed in all parts of the kingdom for seizing of the premises for the use of the king. But as the grandees of the court intended to defraud the king of so great a booty, and the commissioners to put a cheat upon the court lords, who employed them in it; so they were both prevented in some places by the lords and gentry, who thought the altar cloths, together with the copes and plate of several churches, to be as necessary for themselves as for others. Pref.”

All these enormities (says Dr. Heylin) were connived at by the lords and others, because they could not question those who had so miserably invaded the church's patrimony without condemning themselves, p. 69.

But to return to the subject we were upon, to wit, the motives for pushing on the pretended Reformation, the same author writes in the following manner: “The parliament (says he)

met on the fourth of November; in which the cards were so well packed, that there was no need of any other shuffling to the end of the game; because they all agreed well enough in one common principle, which was to serve the present time—For though a great part of the nobility, and not a few of the chief gentry in the house of commons, were cordially affected to the Church of Rome, yet were they willing to give way to all such acts and statutes, as were made against it, out of a fear of losing such church lands as they were possessed of, if that religion should prevail, and get up again. And for the rest, who either came to make or improve their fortunes, there is no question to be made, but they came to further such a reformation, as should most visibly conduce to the advancement of their several ends; which appears plainly by the strange mixture of the acts and results thereof—some tending to the present benefit and enriching of particular persons, and some again being devised on purpose to prepare a way for exposing the revenues of the Church to spoil and rapine," p. 47, 48.

One of the acts that passed in this parliament, was for the retrieving of a statute made in the 27th of Henry VIII. by which chantries, colleges, free chapels, &c. were granted to the king. But he died before he had taken many of them into his possession. And the grantees of the court not being willing to lose so great a booty, these, together with all manors, lands, tenements, rents, tithes, pe

portions, and other hereditaments, were again given to the king, his heirs and successors forever; there being ninety colleges within the compass of that grant, and no fewer than 2374 free chapels and chanteries. Heylin, p. 50, 51.

"The chanteries (says Dr. Heylin, p. 51) consisted of salaries to one or more priests, to say mass daily for the souls of their deceased founders and their friends: which not subsisting of themselves were generally incorporated and united to some parochial, collegiate or cathedral church. No fewer than forty-seven being founded in St. Paul's free chapels; which though ordained for the same intent with others, yet were independent, of stronger constitution, and richer endowment. Though therein they fell short of the colleges, which exceeded them both in the beauty of their buildings, the number of their priests maintained by them, and the proportion of revenue allotted to them."



## SECTION XI.

*The same subject continued.*

What I have hitherto related was all done in the first year of king Edward's reign, viz. Anno 1547. In the year following, Feb. 11th,

an order was sent from the privy council to all bishops for pulling down all images. And it may well be thought (says Dr. Heylin, p. 56) that covetousness spurred on this business more than zeal; there being none of the images so poor and mean, the spoil whereof would not afford some gold or silver, if not jewels also; besides censers, candlesticks, and many other rich utensils appertaining to them.

“The same year, in the beginning of March, commissioners were despatched throughout the realm to take a survey of colleges, free chapels, chantries, &c. by which it would be found no difficult matter to know how to parcel out, proportion and divide the spoil between all such as had in hopes before devoured it.

“In the first place, as lying nearest, came in the free chapel of St. Stephen in Westminster, and reckoned for the chapel-royal of England. The whole foundation consisted of no fewer than thirty-eight persons, to wit, a dean, twelve canons, fourteen vicars, four clerks, six choristers, besides a verger, and one that had the charge of the chapel. As for the chapel itself, together with the cloister of curious workmanship, they are still standing as they were; the chapel having been since fitted and employed for a house of commons in all times of parliament.

“At the same time also fell the college of St. Martin, situated in the city of London, not far from Aldergate, first founded for a dean and secular canons in the time of the conqueror.



college was surrendered into the hands of Edward VI. who gave it to the abbey of Westminster; and they, to make the best of King's donation, ordered that the body of church, with the choir and aisles, should be reserved out for fifty years; excepting out of the same grant, the bells, lead, stone, timber, and iron, to be sold and disposed of for the sole use and benefit of the said dean and chapter. Which foul transaction being made, the church was totally pulled down, and a palace built on the east part of it. The rest of the situation of the same church and college, together with the whole precinct thereof, bequeathed upon with several tenements.

But for this sacrilege the church of Westminster was called immediately to a sobering. For the lord protector cast a long-reign upon the goodly patrimony, which bequeathed unto it; and being unfurnished of a palace he doubted not to find room enough upon dissolution and destruction of so large a fabric to raise a palace equal to his vast designs. When coming to the ear of Benson, the last and first dean of that church, he could think of no better means to preserve the church, than by parting for the present with more than half the estate that belonged to it,"

, 61.

Will now mention a piece of sacrilegious dealing, which indeed was scandalous in the highest degree. The protector having been informed off by Benson from his purpose of building the deanery and close of Westminster,

"had cast his eye," says Dr. Heylin, "a piece of ground in the strand; on it stood three episcopal houses and one parish church. The parish church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the houses belonged to the bishops of Worcester, Litchfield and Lancaster. All these he takes into his hands, the owners not daring to oppose him. Having cleared the place, but still wanting materials, he then resolves to take down the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster. But the workmen had no sooner advanced their scaffolds when the parishioners gathered together in great multitudes, with bows and arrows, staves and clubs, and other weapons. Which surprised the workmen, that they ran away with great amazement, and never could be brought again upon that employment. Upon this he employs workmen to take down the cloister of St. Paul's, on the north side of the church, environing a large parcel of ground, called Pardon church-yard, and beautified with the most curious piece of workmanship, called the dance of death, together with a fair chamber house and a chapel, and leaves the bones of dead bodies to be buried in the fields in unenclosed ground. But all this not sufficient to complete the work, the steeple and most of the church of St. John's of Jerusalem, far from Smithfield, most beautifully built, blown up with gunpowder, and all the men employed for that purpose. Such was the ground, and such the materials of the new palace, called Somerset house," p. 7.

According to this beginning, says Dr. Heylin, all the year, viz. 1549, proceeds. But this great Reformer and plunderer of the English church did not live long enough to enjoy the fruits of these enormous sacrileges; God's justice pursuing him close at the heels. For after having put his own brother to death, and being thereby deprived of so great a support, and laid open to the prosecutions of his enemies, he lost his head not long after on a scaffold. The palace is yet standing, and bears his name, to serve as a lasting monument of the sacrilegious rapacity of that capital reformer of religion in the reign of Edward VI. But it affords the most melancholy reflections, as to the state of his soul. For I never read either of any repentance he ever showed, or any reparation he ever made for the scandalous rapines he had both committed himself, and encouraged in others. He was succeeded in protectorship by his capital enemy the Duke of Northumberland, who walked in the footsteps of his predecessor, and imitating him in all his crimes, came soon after to the same untimely end. Only with this difference, that at his death (for which he had been prepared in prison by Dr. Heath, bishop of Worchester;) he professed himself a Roman Catholic, and declared, as Dr. Heylin relates, that being blinded with ambition, he had been contented to make wreck of his conscience by temporizing: for which he professed himself sincerely penitent, and so acknowledged the justice of his death. Stow relates, that after having made a

public profession of his faith upon the scaffold he added the following words: And here I do protest to you unfeignedly, even from the bottom of my heart, that this which I have spoken is of myself, and not moved thereto by any man, nor for any flattery or hope of life. And of this I take to witness my lord of Worcester, my old friend and ghostly father, that he found me in this mind and opinion when he came to me.

However some protestants have questioned the Duke's sincerity and attributed his profession of the Catholic faith to the hopes he had of obtaining thereby Queen Mary's pardon; just as the same motive induced archbishop Cranmer to renounce Lutheranism, whilst he was under sentence of condemnation.

I will now add one passage more of Dr. Heylin, relating to the rapines committed in the last year of King Edward's reign; concerning which he writes thus: "Such was the rapacity of the times, and the unfortunateness of the king's condition, that his minority was abused to many acts of spoil and rapine, even to the highest degree of sacrilege; to the raising of some and enriching of others, without any manner of improvement to his own estate. For notwithstanding the great and almost inestimable treasure, which must needs come in by the spoil of so many shrines and images, the sale of the lands belonging to chantries, colleges, free chapels, &c. and the dilapidating of the patrimony of so many bishopricks and cathedral churches; he was, neverthel

1. plunged in debt, but the crown lands very much diminished and impaired since his coming to it. It must therefore be the king's care, and endeavours of those who plunged him into it, to find the speediest way for his getting out.—

In order to which, the main engine at this time for the advancing of money, was the speeding of a commission into all parts of the realm, under pretence of selling such of the lands and the goods of chanteries, &c. as remained unsold; but in plain truth it was to seize upon all hanging, altar-cloths, fronts, parafront, copes of all sorts, with all manner of plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments, which were to be found in any cathedral or parochial church.— To which rapacity the demolishing of the former altars gave a very great hint by rendering all such furniture, rich plate and other costly utensils in a manner useless.

“But notwithstanding this great care of the King on the one side, and the diligence of his commissioners on the other, the booty did not prove so great as they expected. In all great fairs and markets there are some forestallers, who get the best pennyworth to themselves, and suffer not the richest and most gainful commodities to be openly sold. And so it was here. For there were some, who were as much beforehand with the commissioners in embezzling the said plate, jewels, and other furniture, as the commissioners did intend to be with the King in keeping always most part of it to themselves. So that although some profit was hereby raised to the king's exchequer;

yet the far greatest part of the prey on other hands. In so much that many men's parlors were hung with altar-cloth tables and beds covered with copes or carpets, and many made carousing use of sacred Chalice—as once Belshazzar did his drunken feasts in the sanctified of the temple.

“It was a sorry house, not worth the which had not something of this furniture though it were only a fair large cushion of a cope or altar-cloth, to adorn their wall or to make their chairs appear to have something of a chair of state. Yet how costly were these trappings in comparison with vast sums of money, which were made of gold, silver, plate and cloth of tissue, either carried beyond seas, or sold at home, and generally purchased with the money—nothing made to the posterity of them that bought for being purchased with the consecrated substances of so many churches, p. 131, 132.

Remember, that the facts I have related how disadvantageous soever to the Protestant cause, are all faithfully collected from the writing of a zealous protestant historian; may be sure, would not have transmitted to posterity, unless the force of incorrupt truth had obliged him to it. And indeed we have heard the truth of the above said fact attested by any.

*But as the facts themselves are unchangeable, so they unveil the whole secret of the pretended reformation, and*

room to doubt of the true and real motives of it. For they shew manifestly, that an insatiable avarice, or desire of plundering the church, was the main spring that gave motion to every step that was made towards it in the few years of King Edward's reign.

As for instance, the holy sacrifice of the mass had been the public worship of the church of England for nine hundred years, and of the British church for thirteen hundred years; because her conversion to christianity under Pope Eleutherius was four hundred years earlier than that of the Saxon's under Pope Gregory. Now if the managers of the reformation had suffered the mass to be kept up; the unavoidable consequence would have been, that altars, (on which the sacrifice of the mass is always offered) must likewise have been left standing. And what a sad story this would have been to persons, whose bowels were yearning for the jewels, the rich plate and furniture, which they could not possibly lay their hands on any other way, than by the destruction of the altars, to the service whereof they had been consecrated; and was there any colourable pretence for the destruction of altars, unless the mass itself was first abolished.

It is true, the venerable antiquity of this holy sacrifice, which had been offered to God for so many ages in all the christian kingdoms upon earth, and in no place with greater zeal, *than in the kingdom of Great Britain, from the very infancy of its conversion,* pleaded hard

for its preservation. But the precious jew the massy plate, and costly furniture which adorned the altars on which it was offered, pleaded with a much more powerful eloquence its utter abolition. However, the people were to be prepared for this monstrous change their ancient faith and worship: And, there as in all revolutions either of the church or state, there never was wanting a set of men, ready to sell their souls to the devil, for a valuable consideration: the best of this character were despatched by the court into all parts of the kingdom, with instructions to preach down the mass by representing it to the people as an idolatrous worship, and contrary to the word of God. As soon as this point was once gained, the demolition of altars, which were rendered useless by it, as Dr. Heylin has observed, followed of course; and then the jewels, and plate, and ornaments belonging to them, dropped of themselves into the hands of those who had conducted the whole business for that end: And it is manifest that their real motive for abolishing the mass, was no other than to have a pretence to pull down altars; and by pulling down altars, to rob the church of an immense treasure, and fill their own coffers with it.

It was the same Godly motive that inflamed their zeal against the honour which their fathers had, in all preceding ages, since Ireland's conversion, paid to the images and reliques of saints. Many of these reliques were set in silver shrines, set with precious stones



And as to the images of Christ and his saints, Dr. Heylin has already told us, that none of them was so poor and mean, the spoil whereof could not afford some gold or silver, if not jewels also; besides censers, candlesticks, and many other rich utensils appertaining to them. This doubtless was a very solid reason to the managers of the reformation to condemn all honour paid to images and reliques as an idolatrous worship. For was not that idolatry, nay abominable idolatry, which if left unreformed would have spoiled a considerable part of their market, and kept so many worthy lords and gentlemen from filling their coffers with the plate and jewels they so zealously longed for? Though Dr. Heylin, whom I leave to answer for himself, has been pleased to observe, that it may well be thought, that covetousness spurred on this business (to wit, the pulling down of images) more than zeal.

But there remained still another thing to be reformed which was looked upon as intolerable abuse by the directors of the reforming company, in being an obstacle to their most pious and laudable design of enriching themselves with the spoils of their mother church. I mean the doctrine of purgatory; on which alone was grounded the old custom of praying for the dead. It was indeed a practice so ancient, that St. Chrysostom attributes it to the apostles themselves. The apostles, says he, did not in vain command these things, that in the venerable and dreadful mysteries (that is the mass) they should be remembered. For they

knew they would derive a considerable advantage from it. Hom. 3. epist. ad Phil. And St. Cyril of Alexandria writes thus: Lastly, we pray for all that die amongst us; thinking it to be the greatest help that can be to their souls to have the holy and dreadful sacrifice of the altar offered in supplication for them. Cat. Mystag. 5. p. 241.

However, the directors of the reformation, who were not disposed to see things with the same eyes as the apostles, judged it an unlawful and pernicious practice. And well they might. For if it had been suffered to continue, the lands belonging to the chanteries, colleges, and free-chapels (all founded for perpetual prayers for the souls of their deceased benefactors) must have remained in the hands of their former possessors. And was not that a most pernicious doctrine and practice, which would have hindered such a noble booty from falling into true Protestant hands, unless a seasonable Godly reformation had put a stop to it.

I will here give you some of Mr. Collier's thoughts upon these transactions; who according to his polite and moderate way of writing, expresses himself thus: 'It must be confessed, (says he) there were several shocking circumstances in the reign of Henry VIII. and his children. For to see churches pulled down or rifled, the plate swept off the altar, and the holy furniture converted to common use, had no great air of devotion; to see the chair undressed, to make the dra ———— om a

ber fine, was not very primitive at first view. The forced surrender of abbeys, the maiming of bishopricks, and lopping the best branches off their revenues; the stopping of impropriated titles from passing in the ancient channel. These things are apt to puzzle a vulgar capacity; unless a man's understanding is more than ordinarily improved, he will be at a loss to reconcile these measures with christian maxims, and make them fall in with conscience and reformation,' 2d part. 3d book, p. 163.

To prevent popular commotions, it was thought fit (says Dr. Heylin in his relation of the transactions of the first year of King Edward's reign) to smooth the way to the intended reformation by setting out some preparatory injunctions; and this to be done by sending out commissioners into all parts of the kingdom, armed with instructions to inquire into all ecclesiastical concerns, which commissioners were accompanied with preachers appointed to instruct the people. All which was done to this intent, that the people being prepared by little and little might with more ease and less opposition admit the total alteration in the face of the church, which was intended in due time to be introduced.

We may reasonably suppose the preachers here appointed to instruct the people were of the newest fashion of the court, grown weary of their breviaries, and the dull thing celibacy. For it has been observed by many, that priests converted to the reformation have always been singularly devoted to the state of wedlock; for

which they had full liberty allowed them by the first parliament of Edward VI. as Baker tells us, p. 331. However, the number of these court preachers was not so great as might have been expected, considering the encouragements that were given them by those who were at the helm. For the author tells us, p. 323, that for want of a sufficient number of preachers, homilies were appointed to be read in churches.

Not indeed of the ancient fathers, but of father Cranmer, father Latimer, father Ridley, or some others, who suited these unhappy times better than the ancient fathers; which were grown stale, and smelt rank of Popery.

“The lord protector and his party, (says Dr. Heylin) were more experienced in affairs of state, than to be told, that all great counsels tending to innovations in public government, especially when religion is concerned, are either to be backed by arms or otherwise prove destructive to the undertakers. For this cause he resolves to put himself at the head of an army; as well for the security of his own person, and the preservation of his own party, as for the carrying on of the design against all opponents. And for the raising of an army, there could not be found a fairer colour, nor a more popular pretence, than a war with Scotland. Not to be made on any new emergent quarrel (which might be apt to breed suspicion in the heads of the people) but in pursuit of the great project of the king deceased, for uniting that realm by a marriage to the crown of England. On this pretence

parts of the kingdom. He entertained also certain regiments of Walloons and Germans; because they were conceived more likely to enforce obedience, if his design should meet with any opposition, than the natural English.

Hence it is plain, that this war with Scotland, was only a politic pretence for keeping a standing army on foot; but the true motive of it was to keep the people in awe, and frighten them into a conformity, by shewing them the rod that was to scourge them in case they should prove refractory. And for this end the protector was wise enough not to put too great a confidence in the English, who were at that time too popishly affected, but to call in foreign Protestant troops, who he knew would be ready for any military execution upon papists, in case of need: whereas, if nothing but a war with Scotland had been intended, the king's own natural subjects might have safely been trusted.

However, there were some that had the courage to oppose the torrent, and act according to the dictates of their conscience, which convinced them, that a new upstart religion, never before heard of in the nation since its first conversion to christianity, and fabricated only to gratify the luxury of some, and avarice of others, could not be that holy religion, which the apostles had taught. But the chief of these were made examples to strike terror into others. For no fewer than five of the prelatie order, to wit, bishop Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Tunstall of Durham, Heath of Ro-

chester, and Day of Chichester, were deprived of their bishopricks, and committed to several prisons, as Baker tells us, p. 323. And thus we see the politic and violent means made use of to establish the English reformation in the reign of Edward VI. The scandalous sacrileges committed by the most zealous promoters of it; and the vile motives that spurred them on to it. Which if it suffices not to convince any man, that it was not the work of God, it is in vain to argue with him.



## SECTION XII.

*Death of Edward VI. The usurper, Jane Grey, executed. Mary's reign and death.*

Edward, who was a poor sickly lad, seems to have had no distinctive characteristic except that of hatred to the Catholics and their religion, in which hatred Cranmer, and others, had brought him up. His life was not likely to be long, and Northumberland, who was now his keeper, conceived the project of getting the crown in his own family; a project quite worthy of a hero of the "Reformation."

In order to carry this project into effect, he married one of his sons, Lord Guilford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey, who next after Mary and Elizabeth, and Mar cotla


heir to the throne. Having done this, he got Edward to make a will, settling the crown on this Lady Jane, to the exclusion of his two sisters, merely because she was "a sincere protestant." The judges, the Lord Chancellor, the Secretaries of State, the Privy Council; all were afraid to put their names to this transfer of the crown. The thing was, however, at last accomplished, and with the signature of Cranmer to it, though he, as one of the late king's executors, and the first upon that list, had sworn in the most solemn manner, to maintain his will; according to which will the two sisters, in case of no issue by the brother, were to succeed that brother on the throne. Thus in addition to his fourth act of notorious perjury, this maker of the book of common prayer became clearly guilty of high treason. He now, at last, in spite of all his craft, had woven his own halter, and that too, beyond all doubt, for the purpose of preserving his bishoprick.

The Princess Mary, was next heir to the throne. He had divorced her mother; he had been the principal agent in that unjust and most wicked transaction; and, besides, he knew that Mary was immovably a Catholic, and that of course, her accession must be the death of his office and his church. Therefore he now committed the greatest crime known to the laws, and that, too, from the basest of motives.

It was on the evening of the sixth of July, 1553, that Edward died at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh

of his reign, expiring on the same day of the year that his savage father had brought Sir Thomas Moore to the block. To conceal the knowledge of his death, the guards had been doubled in the palace, and all communication had been intercepted between his chamber and the other apartments. Yet that very night, while the lords sat in deliberation, the secret was communicated to Mary by a note from the Earl of Arundel, unfolding the design of the conspirators.

She was then at Hoddesdon, in the neighborhood of London, and, had she hesitated, would by the next morning have been a prisoner in the Tower. Without losing a moment, she mounted her horse, and rode with the servants of her household to Kinninghall, in Norfolk.—The council broke up after midnight; and Clinton, the Lord Admiral, took possession of the Tower, with the Royal Treasury, the munitions of war and prisoners of state. The three next days were employed in making such previous arrangements as were thought necessary for the success of the enterprise. While the death of Edward was yet unknown, the officers of the guards and of the household, the Lord Mayor, six Aldermen, and twelve of the principal citizens, were summoned before the council. All these were informed of the recent settlement of the crown, and required to take an oath of allegiance to the new sovereign: The latter were dismissed with an injunction not to betray the secret, and to watch over the tranquillity of the city. On the fourth morning





It was determined to publish the important intelligence, and the chief of the Lords, attended by a numerous escort, rode to Sion house, to announce to the Lady Jane her succession to the throne of her royal cousin.

Jane has been described to us as a young woman of gentle manners, and superior talents; addicted to the study of the scriptures and the classics, but fonder of dress than suited the austere notions of the reformed preachers. Of the designs of the Duke of Northumberland in her favor, and the arts by which he had deceived the simplicity of Edward, she knew nothing: Nor had she suffered the dark and mysterious predictions of the Dutchess to make impression on her mind. Her love of privacy had induced her to solicit, what in the uncertain state of the King's health was readily granted, permission to leave London, and to spend a few days at Chelsea. She was enjoying herself in this retirement, when she received by the Lady Sidney, her husband's sister, an order from the council to return immediately to Sion house, and await there the command of the king.

She obeyed; and the next morning was visited by the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earls of Arundel, Huntingdon and Pembroke. At first the conversation turned on indifferent subjects, but there was in their manner an air of respect, which awakened some uneasiness in her mind, and seemed to explain the hints already given to her by her mother-in-law. Soon afterwards

that lady entered, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, and the marchioness of Northampton; and the duke, addressing the lady, informed her that the king her cousin was dead; that before he expired, he had prayed to God to preserve the realm from the infection of papistry, and the misrule of his sons, Mary and Elizabeth; that, on account of being bastards, and by act of parliament incapable of succession, he had resolved to leave them by, and to leave the crown in the line; and that he had therefore commanded the council to proclaim her, the lady Jane, lawful heir, and in default of her and her two sisters, Catharine and Mary. On these words the lords fell on their knees, and declared that they took her for their sovereign, and swore that they were ready to shed blood in support of her right.

The reader may easily conceive the agitation of spirits which a communication so important and unlooked for, was likely to occasion in a young woman of timid habits and delicate health. She trembled, uttered a shriek, and shrunk to the ground. On her recovery she observed to those around her, that she seemed to herself a very unfit person to be a queen; but that, if the right were hers, she trusted God would give her strength to wield the sceptre to his honor and the benefit of the nation. Such is the account of this transaction given by Jane herself, in a letter from the young queen Mary. The feelings which she describes, are such as we might expect; su

at the annunciation, grief for the death of her royal cousin, and regret to quit a station in which she had been happy. But modern writers have attributed to her much, of which she seems to be ignorant. The beautiful language which they put into her mouth; her forcible reasoning in favour of the claim of Mary; her philosophic contempt of the splendour of royalty; her refusal to accept a crown which was not her right; and her reluctant submission to the commands of her parents; must be considered as the fictions of historians, who, in their zeal to exalt the character of their heroine, seem to have forgotten that she was only sixteen years of age.

The following day the young queen was conducted by water to the tower, the usual residence of our king's preparatory to their coronation; she made her entry in state. Her train was borne by her mother, the dutchess of Suffolk; the lord treasurer presented her on their knees. On the same afternoon the heralds proclaimed the death of Edward and succession of Jane; and a printed instrument was circulated, to acquaint the people with the grounds of her claim. It alleged, 1. That though the succession, by the 35th of Henry VIII. stood limited to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, yet neither of them could take any thing under that act, because, by a previous statute of the 28th of the same reign, which still remained in force, both daughters had been pronounced bastards, and incapable of inheriting the crown. 2. That even had they

been born in lawful wedlock, they could have no claim to the succession after Edward, because, being his sisters only by the half blood, they could not inherit from him, according to the ancient laws and customs of the realm. 3. That the fact of their being single women, ought to bear to their claim, as, by their subsequent marriages, they might place the sovereign power in the hands of a foreign despot, who would be able to subvert the liberties of the people, and to restore the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome. 4. That these considerations had moved the late king to limit, by his will and by deed, the inheritance of the crown to the daughters of the dutchess of Suffolk, as being nigh to him of blood, and "naturally born within the realm." 5. And that therefore the lady Jane, the eldest daughter, had taken upon herself, as belonging to her of right, the government of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and of all their dependencies.

To the arguments contained in this laboured proclamation the people listened in ominous silence. They had so long considered Mary the presumptive heir, that they did not comprehend how her claim could be defeated by any pretensions of a daughter of the house of Suffolk. Not a single voice was heard in approbation; a vintner's boy had the temerity to express his dissent, and the next day paid the forfeit of his folly with the loss of his ears.

The following morning arrived at the tower a messenger from Mary, the bearer of a letter,

in which assuming the style and tone of their sovereign, she upbraided them with their neglect to inform her of the death of her brother, hinted her knowledge of their disloyal intention to oppose her right, and commanded them, as they hoped for favour, to proclaim her accession immediately in the metropolis, and as soon as possible, in all other parts of the kingdom.

This communication caused no change in their counsels; awakened no apprehension in their minds. Mary was a single and defenceless female, unprepared to vindicate her right, without money and without followers. They had taken every precaution to ensure success. The exercise of the royal authority was in their hands; the royal treasures were at their disposal; the guards had sworn obedience; a fleet of twenty armed vessels lay in the river; and a body of troops had been assembled in the Isle of Wight, ready at any moment to execute their orders. Depending on their own resources, contrasted with the apparent helplessness of their adversary, they affected to dread her flight more than her resistance, and returned an answer under the signatures of the archbishop, the chancellor, and twenty-one counsellors, requiring her to abandon her false claim, and to submit as a dutiful subject to her lawful and undoubted sovereign.

In a few hours the illusion vanished. The mass of the people knew little of the lady Jane, but all had heard of the ambition of Northumberland. His real object, it was said,

was now unmasked. To deprive the late king of his nearest relatives and protectors, he had persuaded Somerset to take the life of the lord admiral, and Edward to take that of Somerset. The royal youth was the next victim. He had been removed by poison to make place for the lady Jane, who, in her turn, would be compelled to yield the crown to Northumberland himself. These reports were circulated and believed, and the public voice, wherever it might be expressed with impunity, was unanimous in favour of Mary.

The very day on which the answer to her letter had been despatched, brought the alarming intelligence that she was already joined by the earls of Bath and Sussex, and by the eldest sons of the lords Wharton and Mordaunt; that the gentlemen of the neighbouring counties were hastening to her aid with their tenants and dependants; and that in a short time a numerous and formidable army would be embattled under her banners.

Northumberland saw the necessity of despatch; but how could he venture to leave the capital where his presence awed the disaffected, and secured the co-operation of his colleagues? He proposed to give the command of the forces to the duke of Suffolk, whose affection for his daughter was a pledge of his fidelity, and whose want of military experience might be supplied by the knowledge of his associates. But he could not deceive the partisans of Mary, who saw his perplexity; and to liberate themselves from his control

him to take the command upon himself. They praised his skill, his valour and his good fortune; they exaggerated the insufficiency of Suffolk, and the consequences to be apprehended from a defeat: and they prevailed upon Jane, through anxiety for her father, to unite with them in their entreaties to Northumberland. He gave a tardy and reluctant consent. When he took leave of the colleagues he exhorted them to fidelity with an earnestness which betrayed his apprehensions: and as he rode through the city at the head of the troops, he remarked, in a tone of despondency, to Sir John Gates, "The people crowd to look upon us, but not one exclaims God speed you."—From the beginning the duke had mistrusted the fidelity of the citizens: before his departure he requested the aid of the preachers, and exhorted them to appeal from the pulpit to the religious feelings of their hearers.

By no one was the task performed with greater zeal than Ridley, bishop of London, who, on the following Sunday, preached at St. Paul's cross before the lord mayor, the aldermen, and a numerous assemblage of the people. He maintained that the daughters of Henry VIII. were by the illegitimacy of their birth, excluded from the succession. He contrasted the opposite characters of the present competitors, the gentleness, the piety, the orthodoxy of the one, with the haughtiness, the foreign connexions, and the popish creed of the other. As a proof of Mary's bigotry, he narrated a chivalrous but unsuccessful attempt, which

had made within the last year, to wile from the errors of popery; and in c he conjured the audience, as they pure light of the gospel, to support of the lady Jane, and to oppose the her idolatrous rival. But the torrent eloquence was poured in vain. A hearers there were many indifferen form of worship. Of the rest, the had not yet learned that religious be affect hereditary right; and the Cath confirmed by the bishop's arguments adhesion to the interest of Mary.

That princess, to open a communic the emperor in Flanders, had unl left Kenninghall; and, riding forty m out rest, had reached, on the same eve castle of Framlingham. There her hourly cheered with the most gratify ligence. The earl of Essex, the lord Howard, the Jerninghams, Bedingf yards, Pastons, and most of the neig gentlemen successfully arrived, with ants, to fight under her standard. Sir Hastings, Sir Edmund Peckam, and ert Drury, had levied ten thousand u counties of Oxford, Buckingham, B Middlesex; and purposed to march fr ton for Westminster and the palace: distant friends continued to send her of money and offers of service: H ningham prevailed on a hostile squ six sail, which had reached the harbor mouth, to acknowledge her authorit



by supply of arms and ammunition from ships, relieved the more urgent wants of adherents.

A few days Mary was surrounded by more than thirty thousand men, all volunteers in her cause, who refused to receive pay, and served through the sole motive of loyalty. In this emergency, doubt and distrust seem to have unseated the mind of Northumberland, who had fled from Cambridge, in the direction of Lillingham, accompanied by his son, the earl of Warwick, by the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, and the lord Gray.—With an army of eight thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, inferior, indeed, in number to his opponents, but infinitely superior in every appointment and discipline, he might, by a bold and immediate attack, have dispersed the tumultuous force of the royalists; and have driven Mary across the sea, to the court of her imperial cousin. But he saw, as he advanced, the enthusiasm of the people in her cause; he heard that he had been proclaimed a traitor, and that a price had been fixed on his head; and he feared that sir Edward Hastings would, in a few days, cut off his communication with the capital.

Bury his heart failed him. He ordered a detachment to Cambridge, and wrote to the council for a numerous and immediate reinforcement. The men perceived the irresolution of their leader: their ignorance of his motives, and the birth to the most disheartening reports: their ranks were hourly thinned by desertion.

tion. In the council there appeared no notion of zeal, no want of unanimity. resolved to send for a body of merce which had been raised in Picardy; to commissions for the levying of troops, vicinity of the metropolis; and to offer crowns per month, besides provisions to teers. But, as such tardy expedients d meet the urgency of the case, the lords p ed to separate, and hasten to the army, head of their respective friends and dants. Though Suffolk had been instruc detain them within the walls of the Tow either saw not their object, or dared not pose their pleasure. The next mornin lord treasurer and lord privy seal, the e Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke Thomas Cheney, and Sir John Mason, le fortress, and separated in different direc but with a previous understanding to gain at Baynard's castle. There they joined by the lord mayor, the recorder, deputation of aldermen, who had been sun ed by a trusty messenger; and the disc was opened by the earl of Arundel, who set speech, declaimed against the ambit Northumberland, and asserted the right two daughters of Henry VIII.

The moment he had finished, the e Pembroke drew his sword; exclaiming, "arguments of my lord of Arundel do no suade you, this sword shall make Mary c or I will die in her quarrel." He was a ed with shouts of approbation. The wh

dy rode in procession through the streets: at St. Paul's cross they proclaimed Mary, amidst acclamations which drowned the voice of the herald. Te Deum was sung in the cathedral: beer, wine and money were distributed among the people: and the night was ushered in with bonfires, illuminations, and the accustomed demonstrations of public joy. While the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget carried the intelligence of this revolution to Framlingham, the earl of Pembroke, with his company of the guard, took possession of the Tower. The next morning, the lady Jane departed to Sion house. Her reign had lasted but nine days; and they had been days of anxiety and distress. She had suffered much from her own apprehensions of an unfortunate result, more from the displeasure of her husband, and the imperious humour of his mother.

The moment she was gone, the lords without any distinction of party, united in sending an order to Northumberland to disband his forces, and to acknowledge Mary for his sovereign.— But he had already taken the only part which prudence suggested. Sending for the vice-chancellor, Dr. Sands, who on the preceding Sunday, had preached against the daughters of Henry, he proceeded to the market place, where, with tears of grief running down his cheeks, he proclaimed the lady Mary, and threw his cap into the air in token of joy.

The next morning he was arrested on a charge of high treason. by the earl of Arundel, and was conducted, with several of his associ-

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ates, to the tower. It required a strong guard to protect the prisoners from the vengeance of the populace.

The lady Elizabeth had taken no part in this contest. To a messenger, indeed, from Northumberland, who offered her a large sum of money, and a valuable grant of lands, as the price of her voluntary renunciation of all right to the succession, she replied, that she had no right to renounce, as long as her elder sister was living. But if she did not join the lady Jane, she did nothing in aid of the lady Mary. Under the excuse of a real or feigned indisposition, she confined herself to her chamber, that, whichever party proved victorious, she might claim the negative merit of non-resistance.—Now, however, the contest was at an end: the new queen approached her capital: and Elizabeth deemed it prudent to court the favour of the conqueror. At the head of a hundred and fifty horse, she met her at Aldgate. They rode together in triumphal procession through the streets, which were lined with the different crafts in their gayest attire. Every eye was directed towards the royal sisters. Those who had seen Henry VIII. and Catharine, could discover little in the queen, to remind them of the majestic port of her father, or of the beautiful features and graceful carriage of her mother.

Her figure was short and small: the lines of care were deeply impressed on her countenance; and her dark, piercing eyes struck with awe all those on whom they were fixed.

personal appearance Elizabeth had the advantage. She was in the bloom of youth, about half the age of the queen. Without much pretension to beauty, she could boast of agreeable features, large blue eyes, a tall and portly figure, and of hands, the elegant symmetry of which she was proud to display on every occasion.— As they passed, their ears were stunned with the acclamations of the people: when they entered the tower, they found kneeling on the green, the state prisoners, the Dutchess of Somerset, the Duke of Norfolk, the son of the late marquis of Exeter, and Gardiner, the deprived bishop of Winchester. That prelate pronounced a short congratulatory address. Mary, affected unto tears, called them her prisoners, bade them rise, and having kissed them, gave them their liberty. The same day she ordered a dole to be distributed, of eight pence, to every poor household in the city. She was crowned soon afterwards, in the most splendid manner, and after the Catholic ritual, by Gardiner, who had been opposed to Cranmer's new church, and whom she found a prisoner in the tower, he having been deprived of his bishoprick of Winchester.

The joy of the people was boundless. It was a coronation of greater splendour and more universal joy than ever had before been witnessed. Mary began her reign by acts the most just and beneficent. Generously disregarding herself, her ease and her means of splendour, she abolished the debased currency, which her father had introduced and her broth-

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er had made still baser; she paid the debts due by the crown; and she largely remitted taxes at the same time. The queen did not stop here, but proceeded to restore all the church and abbey lands, which were in her possession, whatever might be the consequence to her, firmly resolved not to be a possessor of the plunder. Having called some members of the council together, she declared her resolution to them, and bade them prepare an account of those lands and possessions, that she might know what measures to adopt for the putting of her intention in execution. Her intention was to apply the revenues as nearly as possible, to their ancient purposes. She began with Westminster abbey, which had, in the year 610, been the site of a church immediately after the introduction of christianity by St. Austin, which church had been destroyed by the Danes, and, in 958, restored by king Edward and St. Dunstan, who placed twelve Benedictine monks in it: and which became, under Edward the confessor, in 1049, a noble and richly endowed abbey, which, when plundered and suppressed by Henry, had revenues to the amount of 3397*l.* a year of good old rent, in money of that day, and therefore, equal to about eighty thousand pounds a year of money of this day! Little of this, however, remained, in all probability, to the queen, the estates having, in a great part, been parcelled out amongst the plunderers of the two last reigns. But whatever there remained to her she restored; and Westminster abbey once more saw a convent of Benedictine monks within its walls.

he next restored the Friary of Greenwich, which had belonged the friars Peyto and Elr, whom we have seen so nobly pleading, re the tyrant's face, the cause of her injury, for which they had felt the fury of ferocious tyrant. She restored the Nunnery ion near Brentford; on the spot where Sion se now stands, she re-established the Black urs in London. At Sheen she restored the ory. She restored and liberally endowed Hospital of St. John, Smithfield. She re- blished the Hospital in the Savoy, for the efit of the poor, and allotted to it a suita- yearly revenue out of her own purse; it is, Dr. Heylin, (a Protestant, and a great ene- of her memory,) observes, "hard to say how the nobility and gentry might have done the , if the queen had lived some few years lon- "

her generous example had no effect upon n; but on the contrary, made them dislike , because it exposed them to odium, pre- ting a contrast with their own conduct, so ch to their disadvantage. From this cause, e than any other, arose those troubles, ch harassed her during the remainder of short reign. She had not been many ths on the throne before a rebellion was ed against her, instigated by the "Refor- ion" preachers, who had bawled in favour dy Jane Grey, but who now discovered, a- gst other things, that it was contrary to 's word to be governed by a woman. The ting rebels were defeated, and the leaders

executed, and, at the same time, lady Jane herself, who had been convicted of high treason; who had been kept in prison, but whose life had hitherto been spared, and would evidently still have been spared if it had not manifestly tended to keep alive the hopes of the traitors and disaffected. The number stated by Hume on authority of Fox, that were punished under Mary—some may have been real martyrs to their opinions, and have been sincere and virtuous persons; but in this number of 277, many were convicted felons, some clearly traitors, as Ridley and Cranmer.—These must be taken from the number; and, we may, surely, take such as were alive when Fox first published his book, and who expressly begged to decline the honour of being enrolled amongst his "Martyrs." It is not my wish to conceal any acts of religious persecution committed by Mary, much less to excuse them; even then all good catholics opposed any measure of cruelty in regard of religion. For proof of what I say I refer the reader to Lingard's history of England, (Chap. 3, of Mary, p. 157, vol. VII.) where that learned historian writes as follows: Alphonso di Castro, a Spanish friar, and confessor to Philip, preached before the court: and to the astonishment of his hearers condemned these proceedings in the most pointed manner. He pronounced them contrary, not only to the text, but to the spirit of the gospel: it was not by severity, but by mildness, that men were to be brought into the fold of Christ: and it was the duty of the faithful



ops, not to seek the death, but to instruct the ignorance of their misguided brethren. Men were at a loss to account for this discourse, whether it was the spontaneous effort of the friar, or had been suggested to him by the policy of Philip, or by the humanity of the cardinal (Pole) or by the repugnance of the bishops.

Mary expired on the 17th of November, 1558. On the morning of her death, mass was celebrated in her chamber. She was perfectly sensible, and expired a few minutes before the conclusion. Her friend and kinsman, cardinal Pole, who had long been confined with a fever, survived her only twenty two hours.— He had reached his fifty-ninth, she her forty-second year. Her natural abilities had been improved by education. She understood the Italian, she spoke the French and Spanish languages: and the ease and correctness with which she replied to the foreigners who addressed her in Latin, excited their admiration.



### SECTION XIII.

*Of the English Reformation, as established by queen Elizabeth.*

As to her virginity, that is too nice a point for me to touch upon. However, Gregorio Letti, a Protestant writer of her life, though he extols her wit and beauty, her skill in governing,

and zeal for the Protestant cause, is not over favourable to her as to that article; but disputes it problematically, and leaves it undecided. Nay, all historians agree, that though she never could be prevailed upon to enter into the state of wedlock, she was not proof altogether against the temptations of the flesh, and had her weakness that way no less than the meanest of her subjects. But to dismiss this odious subject (for we are always bound to incline to the most favourable opinion both for the living and the dead, when there are no positive proofs against them.) This however is most certain, that her character stands upon record, sullied with crimes considerable enough to entertain some doubts of her divine election to the apostleship.

I mean not her having been the fruit of an adulterous bed, because that was the crime of her vicious parents, not her's; but those of her own free will. As first, her dissembling her religion during the whole reign of her sister Mary; insomuch, that (as Dr. Heylin tells us, p. 270,) she appeared not a little dissatisfied in not being able, by her outward conformity, to prevail upon the queen to believe that she was catholicly affected. 2dly. Her unchristian politics in fomenting and supporting underhand the furious rebellion of the Scots against their lawful sovereign, with whom she at that time entertained a friendly correspondence. How far tampering with the subjects of a foreign prince may be allowed of in the *time of war*, I will not pretend to decide: but

cannot think it justifiable in time of peace, or consistent with mutual professions of friendship. Nay it appears to be directly contrary to an inbred principle of human nature, which obliges us to do by others as we would be done by.

3dly. (Besides other crimes of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter) her violating the laws of nations, nay of God and nature, by the most perfidious and inhuman treatment of the queen of Scots, is a stain of infamy upon her memory never to be washed off. For that unfortunate princess, after such a barbarous usage in her own country, as filled all christendom with horror, (as a modern Protestant auth- expresses it) being reduced to a necessity of seeking her safety elsewhere, fled for sanctuary to England; to which she had been encouraged by queen Elizabeth herself, who invited her thither with the most solemn promises of protection and safety. But she had no sooner got her into her power, but she deprived her of her liberty; refused to see her; and after an imprisonment of above eighteen years, imbrued her hands in her innocent blood.

Such was the virgin queen, in whom our English Protestants glory as the special foundation of their reformed church; and whose birth they still keep with an annual religious solemnity. So apt are men, when once engaged in a wrong cause, to overact their parts; imagining to conceal its defects with the dust they raise about it. But the more Protestants affect to trumpet about the praises of the royal

foundress of their church, the more they excite men's curiosity to enquire into her life and conduct; which, when instead of finding it adorned with the most beautiful evangelical virtues of humility, meekness, sincerity, justice, charity, &c. (which are the distinguishing qualities of persons chosen by God, to propagate his holy faith,) they find it on the contrary stained with the blackest crimes of hypocrisy, duplicity, injustice, cruelty, murder, and the like, it makes them apt to reflect, that if the reformation, wereof she was the author, had been the proper work and cause of God, his infinite wisdom would not have chosen a person for the chief instrument of it, whose life and actions he foresaw would be a dishonour and scandal to his holy cause.

But let us now suppose that queen Elizabeth was innocence itself; our English Protestants ought rather blush than glory in her as their foundress, and keep a day of humiliation instead of thanksgiving for the gross oversight committed by their forefathers in making a woman the head of their church. That is, the source of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the supreme Judge of controversies in religion, and governor in spirituals. A thing unheard of before, and never followed since by any national church upon earth.

I shall here repeat to you a part of the speech made by bishop Heath in the house of lords, when the subject of the queen's supremacy was under debate. That prelate, after having enlarged in the first part of his discourse upon

the inconveniencies of a separation from the see of Rome, which I omit for brevity's sake, proceeds in the following manner:

“Now to the second deliberation; wherein I promised to move your honours to consider, what this supremacy is, which we go about by virtue of this act to give to the queen, and wherein it does consist, whether in spiritual government or temporal. If spiritual, as these words of the act do import, supreme head of the church of England immediately and next under God, then it should be considered in what points this spiritual government does consist; and the points being well known, it should be considered, whether this house has authority to grant them, and her highness ability to receive them.

“As concerning the points wherein this spiritual government does consist. I have, in reading the gospel, and the whole course of divinity thereupon (as to my vocation belongeth) observed these four, as chief amongst many others: The first is the power to loose and bind sins. When our Saviour, in ordaining Peter the chief and head governor of his church, said unto him, to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven. Now it should be considered by your wisdoms, whether you have sufficient authority to grant unto her majesty this first of spiritual government, and say unto her, to thee will we give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven.— If you say, yea, then do we require the sight of warrant and commission by virtue of God's word; and if you say no; then you may be as-

sured and persuade yourselves, that you not sufficient authority to make her his supreme head of the church of Christ in this realm.

"The second point of spiritual govern-ment is gathered out of these words of our Sa- spoken to St. Peter in the 20th chapter of. Feed my lambs; Feed my sheep. Now w- er your honours have authority by this co- parliament, to say unto our sovereign, feed you the flock of Christ, you must your warrant and commission for it. An- ther, that her majesty, being a woman by and nature, is not qualified by God's we feed the flock of Christ, appears most pl from St. Paul in this wise: Let women l- ent in the church: for it is not permitted them to speak; but to be in subjection, a law saith. And it followeth in the same, for it is not seemly for a woman to speak i church. 1 Cor. c. xiv. v. 34, 35. And i 1st epistle to Timothy he says, I allow no a woman be a teacher, or be above her hus- but keep herself in silence. Therefore i- pears likewise, that as your honours hav authority to give to her highness this se- point of spiritual government, to feed the- of Christ, so by St. Paul's doctrine her- ness may not intermeddle herself with same. And therefore she cannot be sup- head of the church here of England.

"The third chief point of spiritual go- ment is gathered out of these words of ou- viour Christ to St. Peter, in the 22d ch-

of St. Luke's gospel: I prayed for thee, that thy faith may not fail. Do thou also, when thou art come back, confirm thy brethren, that is, ratify them in wholesome doctrine and administration of the sacraments; which are the holy instruments of God, so instituted and ordained for our sanctification, that without them his grace is not to be received. But to preach and administer the sacraments a woman cannot be admitted. And therefore she cannot be the supreme head of Christ's church.

"The fourth and last chief point of spiritual government, which I promised to note unto you, does consist in the excommunication and spiritual punishment of all such as shall shew themselves not to be obedient children of Christ's church; of which authority our Saviour Christ speaks, Mathew xviii. If thy brother, having offended, will not hear thy charitable admonition, whether secretly at first, or yet before one or two witnesses, then complain of him to the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen or publican.

"So the apostle did excommunicate the notorious fornicator, that was among the Corinthians, and this by the authority of his apostleship; unto which apostle, Christ ascending to heaven, did leave the whole spiritual government of his church; as it appeareth by those plain words of St. Paul in his epistle to the Ephesians, C. 4. saying, He has given to his church some to be apostles, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers for the consummation of the saints, to the work of the ministry, for

the building up of the body of Christ. But a woman in the degrees of the church is not called to be an apostle, nor evangelist; nor to be a pastor, nor a teacher, nor a preacher; therefore she cannot be supreme head of Christ's church, nor yet of any part thereof. For this high government God has appointed only the bishops and pastors of his people; as St. Paul plainly witnesseth in these words spoken to the pastors of the church of Ephesus: Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers, to govern the church of God, Acts, xx. v. 28.

"And thus much I have here said, right honorable and my very good lords; against this act of supremacy, for the discharge of my poor conscience, and for the love, and fear, and dread that I chiefly owe unto God, to my sovereign lady the queen's majesty's highness, and to your honors all; whereas otherwise, without mature consideration of all these premises, your honors will never be able to shew your faces before your enemies in this matter; being so strange a spectacle and example in Christ's church, as in this realm is only to be found, and in no other christian realm."

This plain discourse lays fully open the absurdity of making a woman the supreme head of a church in spirituals. And indeed the Church of England became by it the subject of derision and laughter in all the Christian kingdoms upon the earth, as it justly deserved. She abolished (says a modern Protestant)



ter) the supremacy of the Pope, and assumed that title to herself, which at first seemed a jest to the rest of the world, by reason of the incapacity of her sex for the ministerial function, p. 259. Calvin himself, though a well-wisher to all sorts of reformations, could not forbear making his satirical jests upon it; and Dr. Heylin had reason to say, that the thing seemed to be abhorrent to nature and policy, that a woman should be declared supreme head, on earth, of the Church of England.

In the house of lords, there was not a bishop, not excepting Kitchen of Landaff himself, who conformed afterwards, but voted against it. And in the house of commons, though the duke of Norfolk and earl of Arundel, in hopes of gaining the queen's favour, with several others, had used their utmost skill and industry in managing the elections in their several counties, for the returning of such persons for parliament-men, as they conceived most likely to comply with their intentions for a Reformation, (as Dr. Heylin tells us, p. 107;) yet the struggle was so great, that it was carried in favour of the court party by a very small majority.

The act and the oath annexed to it, are worded thus: "And that also it may please your highness, that it may be established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority has heretofore been or may lawfully be ex-

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exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order and correction of the same, and of all manner of heresies, errors, schisms, &c. shall for ever, by authority of this present parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm." And the oath annexed to the act is as follows: "I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things and causes, as temporal."

Now if this act and oath did not fix the supreme ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction in queen Elizabeth, and declare her supreme head, in spirituals, of the Church of England, then words must lose their obvious and known signification. For I observe,

1st. That the act itself gave the queen all such spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in general, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical authority had ever been, and can lawfully be exercised. And was not this declaring her supreme head or governess, call it by what name you please, of the Church of England in spirituals? Was it not vesting in her person all the jurisdiction, which any ecclesiastical person of what rank soever, had ever exercised in the dominions of Great Britain.

2dly. It gave her a special power or authority to visit, reform or correct all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, &c. All which are

properly exercises, and sometimes restrained by particular exemptions, the full exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was on the contrary, by virtue of the above said act, granted to queen Elizabeth over all the diocesses in her dominions, without restriction or limitation.

But 3dly. The oath annexed to the said act of parliament, declares, in express terms; the queen's highness the only supreme governor, as well in ecclesiastical or spiritual things or causes, as temporal. It does not say, that she had the supreme authority of governing all persons, whether ecclesiastics or laics, (for that is implied in every ordinary oath of allegiance.) But that she was the only supreme governor in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes; which differs very much from the other, and imports no less than that she was the supreme judge of all controversies in religion, and the source of all ecclesiastical as well as temporal jurisdiction in her dominions. Because as all temporal authority or jurisdiction in every government flows from the secular head, so all spiritual jurisdiction flows from the spiritual head as from its source.

Thus then was laid the foundation of the Protestant English church, as it now stands. For all former acts relating to the supremacy having been repealed in queen Mary's reign, the Reformation began entirely upon a new footing in the year 1558, which was the first of queen Elizabeth's reign. And though it commonly takes its date from the year where king Henry assumed the spiritual suprema-

cy, and thereby opened the way to the innovations that followed afterwards, speak properly, the Protestant Church land, as to its present establishment a stitution, can trace its origin no higher than the year 1558, when its foundation was laid upon queen Elizabeth's spiritual supremacy as its chief ground work. And so, of being built upon the foundation of titles, that is, of having some successor apostles, (who never had any female successor for its founder, it has something very singularly different from all material churches of the world, in having been founded and not only by a lay but a female head: St. Paul would not suffer a woman to speak in the church, that is, to intermeddle in ecclesiastical affairs, as bishop Heath judiciously observed.



## SECTION XIV.

*The Queen's supremacy established without the concurrence of the Clergy.*

As the establishment and constitution of the Protestant church of England, as it now was built upon a weak foundation, to the spiritual supremacy of a person incapable of her very sex, even of the lowest degree

clesiastical dignity or function; so has it another essential flaw, never to be repaired. I mean the nullity of that very power or authority by which it was established. For it was carried on entirely by the secular power, without the concurrence or consent of the clergy, nay in direct opposition to it.

As persons can have no part in the civil governments, unless they be qualified according to law, that is, according to the laws of the civil society whereof they are members; so neither can they legally exercise any part in the ecclesiastical government, unless they be qualified according to the laws of the church; but especially those, which Christ himself has established for the government of it. If therefore they, who disposed of the spiritual supremacy in favor of Queen Elizabeth and her successors were wholly unqualified, according to the laws established by Christ, for the exercise of that ecclesiastical power; then it follows that they were as incapable of bestowing the ecclesiastical supremacy of the church of England upon her, as she was of receiving it.

Now it is manifest, both from the scriptural texts quoted by bishop Heath, and from the universal tradition and practice of all ages, that Christ, the divine founder and lawgiver of his church, settled the whole spiritual government of it immediately upon the apostles, and after them upon the bishops and pastors that were to be their successors in the apostolical ministry as long as the church should last, that is to the end of the world—for he gave to his

church, some to be apostles, and some to be evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ, till we all meet in the unity of the Spirit and of the knowledge of the son of God, Eph. 4, v. 11, 12, 13. These therefore alone are the spiritual rulers of God's appointed church. These alone are qualified according to the divine institution to enact ecclesiastical laws, or to exercise any part in the spiritual government of his church. And, by consequence, if the transferring of the spiritual supremacy on Elizabeth, and entailing it upon her heirs and successors, was a mere gift of the state, wholly owing to the secular power, it was without the sanction of that authority, which Christ had established for the spiritual government of his church, and was a manifest violation of the divine institution.

Let us then see, what part the clergy bore in that stupendous act, which is the ground-work of the English reformation, whereon the fabric of the present church of England and its reformed religion, is built.

In the first place, it is notoriously known that not one single bishop in the parliament assented to it. Against these statutes, Camden, p. 19) nine bishops in the house, which were present that day, still opposed. For now there were not more than fourteen living. Dr. Heylin says fifteen.

Such bishops as were not present at the time the act passed were against it after.

passed, and expressed their abhorrence of the fact, even with the loss of their bishopricks and liberty over and above. For Cambden tells us, p. 26, that all the bishops (except Antony Kitchen, of Landaff, who had also voted against it, and whom he calls the calamity of his See) refused the oath of supremacy; which was tendered to them soon after the dissolution of the parliament, and thereupon were immediately deprived of their bishopricks, and sent to several prisons. But let us see also what Dr. Heylin writes upon this subject.

“It was (says he) upon the 8th of May, that the parliament ended; and on the 24th of June, that the public liturgy was to be officiated in all the churches of the kingdom. In the performance of which service the bishops giving no encouragement, and many of the clergy being backward in it, it was thought fit to put them to the final test, and either to bring them to conformity or to bestow their places and preferments on more tractable persons. The bishops at that time were reduced to a narrower number, than at any time before, so that there were no more than fifteen living of that sacred order, and they being called in the beginning of July by certain lords of the privy council, were required to take the oath of supremacy. Kitchen of Landaff, alone takes it; who, having formerly submitted to every change, resolved to show himself no changeling. By all the rest it was refused, that is, by Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York, Bonner of London, &c. and they were thereupon deprived of their bishopricks.”



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Here it is manifest, that the art queen's supremacy, which not only d land from the ancient faith, the Catho but was the very basis, and has ever the chief bulwark of the English re was so far from being countenanced ed to by those of the prelatie order, contrary they expressed their utm rence and detestation of it; and all en, to the dishonor of his character, p their very last breath in their opposi But let us now see, whether the co which represents the body of the int gy, or the two universities, were mo ble to it than the bishops.

Mr. Fuller, L. 9, writes thus of Elizabeth's first parliament: It is in nature, that when one twin is strength and bigness, the other born weak and dwindles away. So here Elizabeth's first parliament being very matters of religion, the convocation brother thereunto, was little employ garded. It seems it was not judg that time to trust churchmen with fairs, though our blessed Saviour wa er mind, and appointed first bishops der them pastors and teachers, to b guides and rulers of his church unt of the world.

However, neither the convocation versities were wholly idle, or w spectators of what the secular powe



carrying on to the prejudice of the ancient religion. For, as the same author tells us, L. 9, the convocation put forth five articles, subscribed to by the universities, as a public testimony of their faith: The three first contained a short exposition of the Catholic doctrine of the real presence, transubstantiation, and the mass. The two last were these, viz:—1. That the chief power of governing the church of Christ was given to St. Peter, and his lawful successors, in the see apostolic, as to the vicar of Christ. And 2dly. that the authority of treating and defining matters relating to faith, sacraments, and church discipline has always hitherto belonged, and ought only to belong to the pastors of the church, whom the Holy Ghost has appointed in it for that end, and not to laymen.

Thus we plainly see that the settling of the spiritual supremacy upon queen Elizabeth and her successors, was carried in direct opposition to the judgment of the whole body of the English clergy.

Whence I infer, first, that since this was a matter purely spiritual even of the highest importance, and therefore belonged by divine right to the ecclesiastical tribunal, it was decided by illegal and incompetent judges; as being unqualified by God's own law; who never appointed laymen, but the successors of the apostles to govern his church and decide ecclesiastical causes.

*I infer 2dly, that the divine institution of episcopacy and episcopal government w*

doubly violated in the very laying of the foundation of the present Protestant church of England. First, by entailing for ever the supreme ecclesiastical government of it upon a lay person, whether man, woman, or child. 3dly, By setting up this new system of church government in utter contempt of and opposition to the whole national episcopal authority then in being.

Whence I conclude with this dilemma, to wit, episcopal government is either essential to the constitution of Christ's church, or not. If it be, the present protestant church of England has an essential defect in its very foundation. I mean, the supreme spiritual authority of a lay-head, which also it derives wholly and solely from the secular power, without the least concurrence or approbation of the episcopal authority, as has been fully proved. But if episcopal government be not essential to the Constitution of Christ's church, and may be either set up or laid aside like ordinary human institutions, according to the will and pleasure of men, then the Presbyterians and other enemies of episcopacy have as fair a title to be a part of Christ's true church, as the church of England can pretend to. For if episcopal authority may be laid aside at one time, I see no reason why it may not be cast off for good and all. And if the secular power may legally new-model the hierarchy, so as to constitute a *lay head* over the church, and even that *independently* of the episcopal authority, I am not *sharpsighted* enough to see any solid reason,

why the same power may not as legally commit forever the whole government of it to such persons as it thinks fitting, whether they be lay-ministers made so by lay ordination; or of that rank, whom the church of England calls bishops. Nay I do not see, why the secular power, when their hands were in, might not have gone further, and declared Queen Elizabeth, in express terms, universal patriarch, as well as supreme head of the church of England. For the one is no more than the other contrary to the express institution of Christ.



## SECTION XV.

*Some remarks upon the progress and motives of queen Elizabeth's Reformation.*

Although the bishops were violently deprived by the lay-power both of their sees and liberty, yet like the apostles in chains, they did not therefore forfeit that spiritual jurisdiction and authority, which belonged to them by divine right, and could not be taken from them but in the case of some canonical fault, and by a canonical trial, and judgment pronounced against them.

Whence it follows, that whatever the inferior clergy did to the prejudice of the ancient faith of England, whether by a forced or voluntary compliance with the times, was of v

manner of weight, because they acted without authority, and contrary to the obedience they had sworn to those who were their lawful superiors in the sight of God. So that the only consequence that can be drawn from it is, that there are always great numbers in the visible church of Christ, who generally discover themselves either in time of persecution and trial, or when they have a fair opportunity offered them of gratifying some predominant inclination; which two circumstances concurring in the reign of queen Elizabeth; it is no wonder that great numbers of the inferior clergy abandoned the ancient religion; some for safety, others for ease or profit; according as their prevailing passions swayed them. And I cannot here forbear observing, with how much partiality and little judgment, some Protestant writers glory in the number of these miserable proselytes: Since it is apparent, that the charms or terrors of this world had the greatest influence upon their pretended conversion. The very nature of the thing justifies my observation. For when punishments are inflicted on the one hand, and considerable advantages offered on the other: when non-compliance is attended with bitter sufferings, and temporizing encouraged with rewards, a sudden change in matters of religion is justly ascribed either to the fear of the one, or the hope of the other. And this was the case from the very beginning of queen Elizabeth's reformation. Great numbers of the inferior clergy, who came over to it, were frightened into a compliance, and taught

to conform by the sufferings of others. They saw their bishops imprisoned, and all those of their own rank, who had refused the oath of supremacy, turned out of their livings, and reduced to beggary. So that they had no other choice left, but either to conform or starve; having nothing but their benefices to depend upon for a livelihood. A terrible temptation to those, who are not armed with virtue strong enough to undergo a lingering martyrdom!

But the greatest part were prevailed upon by the powerful charms of liberty and ease; For besides the liberty they were sure to enjoy of gratifying their incontinence, as the effect soon shewed, the queen had by the plenitude of her ecclesiastical power contrived such a commodious reformation for them, that if they would but conform, they should keep their benefices, and at the same time be eased of the most painful part of the duties annexed to them. This is manifest to all mankind, in the remarkable difference there is between the fatiguing duties incumbent on the pastors of the Catholic church, and the easy lives, comparatively, of Protestant ministers.

Protestant ministers have neither mass nor office to say, nor confessions to hear, nor any functions to break his night's rest: nor scarce any of our holy days to interrupt their more agreeable amusements. So that they are not in danger of being overburdened with pastoral cares; and a good living serves to maintain a female companion in a very comfortable way. Compare this easy way of serving the church



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the labours of Catholic pastors, and the difference will appear as great, as there is between the broad and narrow way mentioned in gospel. For if we but consider the indispensable obligation Catholic pastors are under, a daily long office besides their masses, attended with prayers before and after, and frequent public services for the dead, we may say without exaggeration, that taking one day with another, their daily task of public and private prayers is greater, than a Protestant minister is bound by his functions to perform in several days. Add to this the irksome burden of the confessional, where those especially, who have a numerous flock under their charge are sometimes kept for several hours in hearing; and none but they, who have had the experience of it can be sensible how heavy a burden this is. But there flows from it another painful obligation of being ready at all hours, and in all seasons to administer the sacraments of penance and extreme unction, and the viaticum to the sick, and it would be highly scandalous amongst us, if either the darkness of a rainy and tempestuous night, or the rigour of the season, or finally the danger of contagious distempers, though ever so mortal, should hinder a Catholic pastor, when called upon, from performing this duty with all cheerfulness, even to the meanest of his flock.

Now since it is manifest, that queen Elizabeth's good-natured reformation, by abolishing the mass, together with the sacraments of penance and extreme unction, and prayer for the

dead, and the other commodious changes made by her, eased all those of the clergy, that would conform, from the painful part of their functions, I think it is not to be wondered (considering men's natural proneness to liberty and ease) that great numbers of them should by this alluring bait be drawn into a compliance, which secured them in the quiet possession of their ecclesiastical livings, and at the same time delivered them in a trice from the Popish yoke of those laborious duties, which till then had been inseparably annexed to their livings.

It is a good saying of Mr. Dryden, that a downhill Reformation rolls apace. And truly queen Elizabeth took care to model her Reformation according to this agreeable platform, by suiting it to the natural inclinations of all degrees and conditions of men. The laity, whether rich or poor, found their account in it by being delivered by it from a great number of troublesome fasts and Popish holy days; but above all, from the ungrateful task of confessing their sins; which subjected them to the importune remonstrances and reprimands of their ghostly fathers, besides the performance of the penances enjoined them. The clergy, as you have already seen, were over and above eased by it of the most painful part of their ministerial functions, got wives into the bargain, and not only kept their former livings to maintain them, but lived in hopes of improving their fortunes by stepping into richer benefices, by the removal of those who should refuse to conform.

The queen herself had the greatest interest upon earth to determine her to discard the pope; which, as I have already observed, was the fundamental article of the intended reformation. Let us hear Dr. Heylin's judgment of the religious motive that induced her to it:—She knew very well, (says he) that her legitimacy and the pope's supremacy could not stand together, page 275. Very right: For if she had acknowledged the pope's supremacy, she must have stood to his verdict relating to the invalidity of king Henry's marriage with her mother, Anne Bolen; which would have been to own herself a bastard, and render her title to the crown at least doubtful. A reformation was therefore necessary, both to save her honor and secure her title: and these were two convincing proofs, that the pope was no longer supreme head of the church of England, though he had a prescription of 900 years to support his title to it.

But she had other motives full as pure and disinterested as this to carry on that godly reformation. For though the great harvest accruing from the plunder of the church had been reaped in the two reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. yet there were no contemptible gleanings remaining by the death of queen Mary, to invite her to follow the footsteps of her two reforming royal predecessors. Let us hear Dr. Heylen speak once more:

*"Her first parliament (says he) restored to the crown the tenths and first fruits, first settled thereon in the time of Henry VIII. and*



afterwards given back by queen Mary. They also passed an act of Dissolution of all such monasteries, convents, and religious orders as had been founded by the queen deceased. By virtue of which act the queen was re-possessed of all those lands, which had been ganted by her sister to the monks of Westminster and Sheen, the knights hospitallers, the nuns of Sion, with the mansion-house re-edified for the observants of Greenwich, and the Blackfriars in Smithfield." p. 280.

If Dr. Heylin may be believed (and he relates nothing but plain fact) she found ways and means, by the help of her good parliament, to manage the revenues of vacant bishopricks so discreetly, that her zeal for episcopacy did not any ways hinder a very considerable part of the church's patrimony from being safely conveyed into her coffers.

"It was enacted (says Dr. Heylen) by her first parliament, that in the vacancy of any archbishoprick, or bishoprick, it should be lawful for the queen to issue out a commission under the great seal; for taking a survey of all castles, manors, lands, tenements and all other hereditaments to the said episcopal sees belonging, or appertaining, and to take into her hands any of the said castles, manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, &c. as to her seemed good; giving to the said archbishops and bishops as much annual rents, to be raised upon impropriations, tithes, and portions of tithes, as they did amount to, p. 292.

"Of this such advantages were made,

most redounded to the profit of the queen and her courtiers. Upon which grounds, as all the bishop's sees were so long kept vacant, before they were filled, so in the following time, they were kept void one after another, till the best flowers in the whole garden of the church had been culled out of it, p. 292, 293.

“There was another clause in the said statute, by which the patrimony of the church was as much dilapidated, *Seda plena*, as it was by this in time of vacancy. For by that clause, all the bishops were restrained from making any grants of their farms and manors for more than twenty-one years, or three lives at the most, except it were to the queen, her heirs and successors (and under that pretence to any of her hungry courtiers) they might be granted in fee, farms, or for a lease of ninety-nine years, as it pleased the parties. By which means Crediton was dismembered from the See of Exon, the goodly manor of Sherborn from that of Salisbury; and many fair manors were alienated forever, from the rich sees of Winchester, Ely, and indeed was not?” p. 293.

After this, the same author gives a particular account of the terrible spoil and waste of the lands of several other bishopricks, either by long vacancies, or other illegal means. I shall only recite to you what he says of Oxford.

“As for Oxon, (says he) it was kept vacant from the death of Mr. King, the first bishop of it. Dec. 14, 1557, till the 14th of Oct. 1567, at which time it was conferred on Dr. Curwin,

archbishop of Dublin; who having held it but a year, it was again kept vacant twenty years together, and then bestowed on Dr. Underhill, in Dec. 1592. It was once more kept void till the year 1603. So that this church was filled little more than three years in forty-six. The revenues remaining in the hands of the Earl of Essex, by whom the lands were so spoiled and wasted, that they left nothing to the last bishops but impropriations. By means of which havock and destruction all the five bishopricks erected by Henry VIII. were so impoverished and destroyed, that the new bishops were necessitated to require a benevolence of their clergy to furnish their episcopal houses." p. 328. 329.

Thus you see this eminent reformer and foundress of the church of England kept not her hands so very clear, as you imagined, from being dipped in the plunder of the church's patrimony. And as they were not guiltless in this respect, so were they most deeply imbuéd in innocent blood; especially after the sanguinary laws made by her; which during her life were executed with the utmost rigour, as may be seen in Stow. So that I may say, without the least wrong done to her character, that (excepting the vice of incontinence, with which I cannot charge her) she inherited the very worst of her father's qualities. And it is remarkable, that the most wicked and profligate persons of that age were *the most* in her favour; such as Leicester, Walsingham, and others, of whom the authr

of the Short View of the English history writes, that having already tasted of the sweetness of confiscations, they designed to make the English Roman Catholics desperate by ill usage, in hopes they would rebel, and forfeit their estates. But when truth could not be found against them, Walsingham, by counterfeit letters and confessions extorted by pains and terrors of the rack, tumultuated the people with chimerical dangers, only to prepare them for the murder of the queen of Scotland.

The same author gives this short general character of Leicester, viz. that he was one of the worst of men, p. 269, and had all the ill principles of his father, Northumberland, p. 273.

But Dr. Heylin has left us a fuller account of him, p. 239, 240, where he tells us that the queen, in her visit to Cambridge, Anno 1564, coming acquainted with Sir Robert Dudley, made him Earl of Leicester, and gave him a great sway in all affairs, both of court and council; and then goes on thus:

“Advanced to this height, he engrossed to himself the disposing of all offices in court and state, and of all preferments in the church.—A man so unappeasable in his malice, and insatiable in his lust—so sacrilegious in his rapines—so false in his promises, and treacherous in point of trust; and finally, so destructive of the rights and properties of particular persons, that his little finger lay heavier on the English subjects, than the loins of all the favourites of the two last kings.”

This was that noble person, whom queen Elizabeth was so charmed with, and loaded with so many favours, that he even conceived no small hopes of being one day admitted to her bed, and a partnership in the crown. In order whereunto, he broke the neck of his wife down stairs (says the author of the Short View, p. 273) to make room in his bed, when he should have the happiness to accomplish his design on the queen. Yet this wicked wretch, and others as profligate as himself, were but bosom confidants and chosen counsellors, whom she advised with, and was directed by, in the most weighty concerns, both of church and state. In so much that the above named author sticks not to say, that she had the most wicked ministry that ever was known in any reign, p. 273. And what other consequence can we draw from it, than that she was no enemy to wicked counsels and practices? Since instead of frowning upon those, who were the avowed promoters of wickedness and immorality, she rewarded them with preferments, and honoured them with her peculiar confidence and friendship. This was a strange conduct in one who pretended to so much zeal for God's worship; and plainly shews, that tenderness of conscience was no distinguishing part of her character; which indeed stands upon record blackened with such a stain of infamy, as cast an irreparable scandal upon the church and reformation, whereof she was the supreme head and architect.

It is very certain, that if instead of pretending to reform the church, she had laboured to

reform the viciousness of her court and ministry, she would not only have kept within her proper sphere, but acted more suitably to the decorum becoming the character of a virgin queen.

But before I take my leave of queen Elizabeth I shall make a few remarks upon that penal statute of her's, whereby saying mass is made high treason, and being present at it felony; and accordingly both the one and the other punishable with an infamous death. Now to the best of my judgment, penal laws can never change the nature or essence of things; nor do they make such or such actions, for the punishment whereof they are made, become crimes that were not so before, but they suppose them to be so in their own nature. So that they would be the same enormous crimes, both in themselves and in the sight of God, though there were no human laws to punish them.— Thus robberies, murders, rebellions and treasons, are justly punished with death, as being in themselves crimes of such an enormous and pernicious nature that persons guilty of them deserve to be regarded as the public enemies of mankind, and treated with the utmost rigor.

Hence it follows, that if queen Elizabeth's law was just, saying mass both is, and has always been a sin of as black a die in the sight of God as that of high treason. But how is that credible? Will any one have the confidence to say, that all the bishops and priests of Great Britain, for nine hundred years together, amongst whom there were a great number emi-

nent for holiness of life and working of miracles, lived in the daily practice of a deadly sin? Did those great doctors and pillars of God's church, St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and such others, commit as many erroneous crimes as they said masses? Did St. Gregory incur the guilt of three mortal sins upon every Christmas day, by saying three masses on that day, as he himself says he did?

Finally, did St. Augustin and his followers who converted England, begin their holy mission with setting a pattern to all their successors of committing daily a crime of such a heinous nature, as deserved to be punished with the most cruel and infamous death? These surely are such monstrous absurdities as will not enter into the imagination of any man in his right senses. Yet if the above said penal statute of queen Elizabeth was just, all these absurdities, how monstrous soever, would follow. Penal laws that are just, appoint punishments proportioned to the enormity of the crimes against which they are made. If, therefore, the same infamous and cruel death which the law inflicts upon traitors, was justly incurred for saying mass, it follows, that saying mass is of its own nature, and in the sight of God, as black a crime as that of high treason against the state; and, by consequence, all the eminent saints I have named, lived in the continual practice of as great a sin as if they had daily committed treason against their sovereigns; which if it be not a supposition, which

any man of sense and religion will blush to own, nothing can be imagined extravagant enough to shock him. And therefore I cannot but regard that sanguinary statute of queen Elizabeth, which during her long reign was executed with the utmost violence and rigour, as one of the blackest stains in her character.



## CONCLUSION

*Containing some penal laws, and the death of the Queen of Scots.*

We will now proceed to those cruel oppressions and persecutions of Protestants towards Catholics, which have come down even to our own times. For this end, more than a hundred cruel and unjust laws were made. We will only examine a few. Catholics could not possess the estates of their fathers, or relations, nor buy lands after the age of eighteen, except they would turn Protestants.— They could not teach nor keep a school, under pain of perpetual imprisonment. The Catholics paid double taxes. If a priest said mass he forfeited 200 marks, or 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and if a person heard mass, he forfeited 100 marks, or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and each suffered one year's imprisonment. If any Catholic sent his child, or any other person out of England to be educated in the Catholic religion, both he and his child were deprived of every thing but their lives.



for they lost all their goods and chattels, and likewise all their real estates for life, and were not allowed to be employed in the kingdom. If a Catholic did not go to a Protestant church on Sundays and holidays, he forfeited twenty pounds for every month he stayed away; besides which he was looked upon as excommunicated; he could hold no office, or employment; he could not keep arms in his house; he could not come within ten miles of London, on pain of forfeiting 100*l.*; he could bring no action at law; he could not travel above five miles from home, upon pain of forfeiting all his goods; he could not come to court under pain of forfeiting 100*l.* No marriage, or burial of such a Catholic, or baptism of his child, was lawful except performed by the parsons of the church of England. A married woman, if she was a Catholic, forfeited two-thirds of her dowry; she could not be executrix to her husband, or have any part of his goods; and during their marriage she was to be kept in prison, unless her husband redeemed her at the rate of 10*l.* a month, or the third part of all his lands; and lastly, all Catholics were to be imprisoned, if they did not forsake their religion and become Protestants; they could be transported for life by four justices; and if they refused to go, or come back without the license of the king, they were guilty of felony, and suffered death as felons, without the benefit of clergy.

A Catholic gentleman could not keep arms in his house, nor ride a horse above the value of five pounds. Catholic bishops, or priests,

celebrating mass, or exercising any part of their functions, were liable to perpetual imprisonment. And by statute 27 Eliz. c. ii. any Catholic priest born in the dominion of the crown of England, and who should stay in England three days without becoming a Protestant, was guilty of high treason, and suffered a cruel death; and all persons harbouring him were guilty of felony, and condemned to death without the benefit of clergy, (see Blackstone's Com. vol. IV. p. 55.)

To add to these cruelties, "the greatest violations of justice were committed on the part of the judges, with whom it was at all times a sufficient reason for giving no credit to a witness, that he was a catholic." (Goodwin in the lives of Phillippses.) In consequence of these bloody laws, upwards of two hundred persons were put to death for the profession of the Catholic faith, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Of this number, one hundred and forty-two were priests; three were gentlewomen; and the remainder esquires, gentlemen and yeomen. Besides these, there were ninety more priests and laymen who died in prison in the same reign, and one hundred and five others who were transported for life. Many more were whipped, fined, or stripped of their property, to the utter ruin of their families.

In one night fifty Catholic gentlemen, in the county of Lancaster, were suddenly seized and committed to prison, because they would *not go to the Protestant church*. About the *same time* we find fifty-three Yorkshire gentle-

men lying prisoners in York Castle, because they would not attend the Protestant church. These Catholics were dragged by main force into the castle chapel, and there forcibly kept to hear protestant sermons, once a week for twelve months together. (See Dr. Wiluer's Let. to a preben. p. 131.)

In the year 1587, the illustrious Mary, queen of Scots, and cousin to queen Elizabeth, was put to death for the Catholic faith. A protestant party, with the consent of queen Elizabeth, cruelly murdered Mary's husband, King Henry Darnly, (ibid. 6 ed. p. 284.) and then raised a rebellion against her, their lawful queen.

The defenceless queen of Scots, thus insulted and betrayed by her own rebellious subjects, hopes to find a friend in her cousin Elizabeth, for "the queen of England had given her a strong expectation of shelter in case of distress; and had presented her with a diamond as a mark of her affection." (Colliers' Eccl. His. vol. ii. p. 516.)

But Mary was a Catholic; and she had no sooner set foot on English ground, than the treacherous Elizabeth, contrary to all justice, commanded her to be thrown into prison, where she remained till her dying day.

In this wretched state of confinement, the poor queen suffered every insult, and, over and above, was deprived of the exercise of her own religion. After living eighteen years in this miserable condition, expecting every day to be her last, she was informed by lord Buckhurst, that she was condemned to die, and

that the established religion was thought not to be secure while she was in being." (Camden.) Mary with the greatest resignation answered:

"I had not thought that my sister the queen, would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your laws. But since it is her pleasure, death shall be to me most welcome." (Echard. His. Eng. p. 378.) She then begs to see a Catholic Priest; but this is flatly denied her. (Camden An. Eliz. p. 382.) They offer her the Protestant bishop or dean of Petersborough; but them she refuses, expressing her determination to die in the Catholic faith.

After having joined with her servants in most fervent and humble prayer to God, she then takes off her mantle, amidst the shrieks and lamentations of her servants, and throwing a white veil over her face, lays herself down on the block, repeating the psalm, "In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust," &c. with the words, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," the executioner severed her head from her body. "Here let the reader pause, and if he has a heart to feel for injured majesty, let him not be ashamed to drop a tributary tear, to the memory of Mary, the unjustly dethroned and not less basely murdered queen of Scots."

Dr. Bridgewater gives us the names of about 1200 Catholics, who were persecuted for their religion, before the year 1588. (See *Concertatio Eccl. Cath.* by Dr. Bridgewater) hundreds more suffered death, and other cruelties for the Catholic religion. "And as for priests,

it was made as great a crime to have taken orders after the rites of their church as to have committed the most heinous treason that can be imagined; and they were far more cruelly punished than those that murdered their own parents." (Christian Modera. part. 1, p. 9. &c.) These that suffered death were drawn to the gallows, hanged by their neck, and for the best part, cut down alive, their bowels torn out whilst they were yet living, and burnt before their faces: after this, their heads were cut off and their bodies divided into quarters. (See Dr. Milner's Let. Preb. p. 134. Butler's Mem. vol. 1. p. 174.

Incredible as it may seem to an Englishman, still it is true, that several of those who suffered this cruel death, were before their trials, most barbarously tortured by the common rack, by which their limbs were stretched with levers to a length too shocking to mention; by the hoop called the Scavenger's Daughter, on which they were placed and their bodies bent until the head and feet met together; by confinement in the chamber called Little Ease, being a hole so small, that a person could neither stand, sit, nor be straight in it; by the iron gauntlet, a screw that squeezes the hands until the bones were crushed; or by needles thrust under the nails of the sufferers, or finally by starvation! Dr. Milner's Let. preb. p. 134, in note, and Butler's Mem. vol. 1. p. 115. &c. Even the reward of 100*l* was given to any person who should discover a Catholic priest, and bring him to suffer these cruel and most dia-

bolical punishments. Nor were these atrocities confined merely to England; for, Elizabeth extended them even to Ireland, where she persecuted many innocent Catholics, merely for the profession, or exercises of their religion. Amongst these were six prelates, Patrick O'Kelly, bishop of Mayo, Dermot O'Hurle, Archbishop of Armagh, and Edmund Magauran his successor, Cornelius O'Duanne, bishop of Down, and Edmund O'Gallagher, bishop of Derry.

The two first of these suffered horrible torture previously to their execution; the former having his legs broken with hammers, and needles thrust under his finger nails; the other being obliged to wear, for several days, jack-boots, containing a quantity of quick-lime and oil. It was not unusual to tear the nails from the fingers of the Catholic prisoners, or to batter the heads of the clergy with sticks and stones till their brains were open to view.

The year before Elizabeth's death, a number of monks and clergy, amounting in all to twenty-one persons, obtained permission, in consequence of a petition to her, which they got presented, to retire to the continent; and a queen's ship was appointed to convey them. They embarked, as they were ordered, at Slattery; but they had not sailed far, when they were all thrown into the sea and drowned.

This glorious exploit was performed by the orders of the godly queen Elizabeth, who gave to these officers, as a reward, the lands which had belonged to the aforesaid monks. (See note

p. 32, in Dr. Milner's Let. from Ireland.)—Moreover, large armies of soldiers were sent over to Ireland, to make the Catholics turn Protestants. They began by burning the Catholic chapels, murdering the priests at the altar, and hunting them like wild beasts.

In the years 1643 and 1644, the parliament sent out commissioners with orders to seize two-thirds of the real personal estates of all the Catholics, without distinction. The commissioners employed people under them, with power to break houses and to force locks: and they gave to informers who could tell where the Catholics had their property, one shilling in the pound, (Butler's Mem. vol. I. p. 21.) They even took from poor day labourers two-thirds of their goods.

When the commissioners had got into their hands two-thirds of the most innocent Catholics' lands and goods, "Then came the excisemen, tax gatherers and other collectors, and filched away no small part of the poor third penny that was left them; so that, after these deductions, I have known some estates of 300*l* a year, reduced to less than 60*l*. (Christian Modera. part. p. 9. &c.) Again on July 16th, 1651, and August 4th, 1652, and November 18th, new acts of parliament were made, by which they seized upon more than one hundred estates belonging to the Catholic nobility. Another grievance was, that the Catholics had no power to sell, or mortgage the least part of their estates, in order to pay their just debts, to defray their necessary expenses, or to buy

food for their children. This was a most cruel injustice, because they could not be employed in the kingdom, and if they wished to go to another country where they might gain a livelihood for their families, they could not sell, or exchange their estates for money to pay the passage.

Moreover, many plots have been hatched by Protestants, and then laid upon Catholics; for instance, Mocedo's plot, Oates's plot, Gunpowder plot, &c. This last, the memory of which is still kept up by making bonfires, ringing bells on the 5th of November, &c. was a Protestant plot, planned by a Protestant minister Cecil, and discovered by a Catholic Peer, Lord Montague. But perhaps you will ask, why should a Protestant minister form the Gunpowder plot? It was because the Protestants at that time were afraid that the king was going to favor the Catholics. For you must know that James I. was born of Catholic parents, was baptized and confirmed in the Catholic church, and though he was compelled to forsake his religion by the new laws of Scotland, he nevertheless retained at first a strict regard for the Catholic faith; and he declared in open Parliament that he considered the church of Rome as the "mother church." (Dr. B. Carrier's *Missions*) Even in his writings, he calls "the Pope the chief bishop of all the western churches." (Dr. Milner's *Let. Preb.* 6 Ed. p. 268.) Moreover, the king looked upon his Catholic subjects in England, as a loyal body of people, who had been long oppressed and most heavily afflicted



He made no secret of his friendly disposition towards them; and this it was that gave offence to the ministers, and set Cecil to work, to find out ways to make the king hate his Catholic subjects; which he soon accomplished by means of the famous gunpowder plot, of "which he was either himself the author, or at least the main conductor." (Politician's Catech.) However, "Cecil did not carry on his schemes so secretly, but that some of his own domestics got a general notion of them. Accordingly one of them advised a Catholic friend of his, of the name of Buck, to be upon his guard, as some great mischief was in force against those of his religion. This was said two months before the disclosure of this gunpowder plot." (Osborne's His. Mem. of James I.) Again, many Protestant writers allow, that Cecil was the principal contriver of the plot. One of them calls it "a neat device of the secretary;" (The author of the Political Grammar.) Another says, that "Cecil engaged some Papists in this desperate plot, in order to divert the king from making any advances towards Popery, to which he seemed inclinable in the minister's opinion." (See Stow and Echard.) King James himself used to call the 5th of November "Cecil's Holiday." Finally, a third Protestant writer says, "that this design was first hammered in the forge of Cecil, who intended to have produced it in the time of Elizabeth; that, by his secret emissaries, he enticed some hotheaded men, who, ignorant whence the design first came, heartily engaged in it. (Shor

View of His. Eng. by Rev. Higgons.) Thus you see that this famous plot was first of all made by a Protestant; and besides, those who were deeply engaged in it were by no means Catholics.

For out of the sixteen persons, who were all that the Protestants could accuse, only nine at the most knew that any gunpowder plot was intended; and the greater part of these were rash youths, who for a long time had conformed to the protestant religion, and were looked upon as apostates and outcasts from the Catholic communion. This a protestant writer assures us of, where he says, "there were a few wicked and desperate wretches, whom many protestants termed papists, although the priests and true Catholics knew them not to be such; now can any protestant say that any one of them was such as the law terms Popish recusants:—and if any of them were Catholics, or so died, they were known protestants not long before." (Prot. Plea for Priests. p. 56. 58. Ann. 1621.)

This is a short history of this famous plot, contrived by protestants for the ruin of Catholics. What a shame then and mockery it is, that every person on the 5th of November should go to church and thank God, for his deliverance "from the secret contrivance and hellish malice of Popish conspirators?" (In last prayer of Thanksgiving 5th Nov. Book Com. Prayer.) Their effrontery is most astonishing indeed. Moreover, we read in history, that so great was the malice of Protestants

against their Catholic fellow subjects, that "they voted, that in case of the king's death by the hand of conspirators, they should be accused as the perpetrators of the murder."—"Protestants were to kill the king, and Papists were to be hanged for it!" (L'Estrang's His. p. 156.) Such were the plots, cruelties and persecutions exercised, with more or less barbarity against the Catholics, because they would not turn Protestants, during the reign of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., Cromwell, Charles II., James II., William, Anne, George I., George II., and down to the 18th year of George III.; persecutions which continued till about fifty two years ago; for in 1769, the Honorable James Talbot, uncle to the present earl of Shrewsbury, was tried for his life at the Old Baily, for saying Mass; and escaped condemnation only for the want of evidence. Other priests were prosecuted, and some imprisoned for life, in 1778; the first indulgence shewn to Catholics, in his late majesty's reign, was the repeal of the act of the 10th and 12th of William. This act of justice towards them, very much disoblged our Protestant brethren, who, on the 2nd of June, 1780, presented a petition to the house of commons, containing 44,000 names, begging that the parliament would continue these cruel and bloody laws against the Catholics; but as their petition was not attended to by the house, they were determined to see what they could do by force; and then it was, that the famous London riots broke out, in which 100,000 protestants march-

ed about the streets with no popping; set fire to the Catholic chapel, their houses, and at night, it is said the city was seen blazing in thirty-eight parts, from one spot. After the riots, which lasted six days, and the evils that befel the Catholics, his Majesty passed another act in 1791, for the benefit of the Catholic subjects, and gave them all the privileges which they now enjoy, and which they were and ever will be grateful to their deceased friend and sovereign.

Notwithstanding the revolution which the Catholic religion has undergone, and is enduring, it is still the religion of several states of Italy, of most of the Cantons, of Piedmont, of France, of Portugal, and of the islands in the Indian Ocean, of three parts in four of the Netherlands, the greater part of the Netherlands, Bohemia, Germany, Hungary and the neighbouring provinces; and, in those kingdoms and states in which it is not the established religion, its followers are very numerous. In Holland, Russia, Turkey, the Lutheran Calvinistic states of Germany and Sweden. Even in Sweden and Denmark several congregations, with their respective ministers, are to be found. The whole vast continent of South America, inhabited by many millions of converted Indians, as well as by the Portuguese, may be said to be Catholic. The same may be said of the empire of the Netherlands, and the surrounding kingdoms in N

including California, Cuba, Hispaniola, &c. Canada and Louisiana are chiefly Catholic; and throughout the United Provinces, the Catholic religion, with its several establishments, is completely protected, and unboundedly propagated. To say nothing of the islands of Africa inhabited by Catholics, such as Malta, Madeira, Cape Verd, the Canaries, the Azores, Mauritius, Goree, &c., there are numerous churches of Catholics established and organized under their pastors, in Egypt, Ethiopia, Algiers, Tunis, and the other Barbary states on the northern coast; and thence, in all the Portuguese settlements along the western coast, particularly at Angola and Congo. Even on the eastern coast, especially in the kingdom of Zanzibar and Monomotapa, are numerous Catholic churches. There are also numerous Catholic priests and many bishops, with numerous flocks, throughout the greater part of Asia. All the Maronites about Mount Libanus, with their bishops, priests and monks, are Catholics, so are many of the Armenians, Persians, and other christians, of the surrounding kingdoms and provinces. (See Sir R. Steel's account of the Catholic religion throughout the world.) In whatever islands or states the Portuguese or Spanish power does prevail, or has prevailed, most of the inhabitants and in some all of them, have been converted.

The whole population of the Philippine islands, consisting of two millions of souls, is all Catholic. The diocese of Goa contains four hundred thousand Catholics. In short, the

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number of Catholics is so great throughout all the peninsula of India within the Ganges, notwithstanding the power and influence of Britain, as to excite the jealousy and complaints of the celebrated Protestant missionary, Dr. Buchanan. (See Christian Researches in Asia, p. 131, Mem. Eccl.) In a late parliamentary record, it is stated that in Travancor and Cochin, is a Catholic archbishoprick and two bishopricks, one of which contains thirty-five thousand communicants. (Dr. Keer's Letter, quoted in the late parliamentary report on the Catholic questions, p. 487.) There are numerous Catholic flocks, with their priests and bishops, in all the kingdoms and states between the Ganges, particularly in Siam, Cochin, Tonquin, and the different provinces of the Chinese empire. I must add, on this subject, that, whereas, none of the great Protestant sects was ever much more numerous or spread than it is at present, the Catholic heretofore, prevailed in all the countries they now collectively inhabit. The same may be said with respect to the Greek schism, and in a great measure to the Mahomedan.



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## **ERRATA.**

Page 112, sixth line from the head—for *her* read *Catharine Howard*.

Page 122—for *Section VII.* read *Section VIII.*

“ 140—for *Section X.* read *Section IX.*

